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Materialien zur Kunde
des
älteren Englischen Dramas

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des älteren Englischen Dramas

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BEGRUENDET UND HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

W. BANG

o. ö. Professor der Englischen Philologie an der Universität Louvain

VIERTER BAND

LOUVAIN
A. UYSTPRUYST

LEIPZIG
O. HARRASSOWITZ

LONDON
DAVID NUTT

1904

EVERYMAN

REPRINTED BY

W. W. Greg

FROM THE EDITION BY JOHN SKOT

PRESERVED AT BRITWELL COURT



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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Four editions of *Everyman* are known, two by Pynson and two by Skot, all undated. The chronological order of these editions has not yet been determined ; indeed the necessary material for such investigation is not yet accessible. In arranging them as below, the list given by Dr Logeman has been followed.

1. Pynson (1493-1530). Fragment in the Douce Collection at the Bodleian.

2. Pynson. Imperfect copy, wanting sheet A, in the British Museum.

3. Skot (1521-1537). Copy in the Huth Library. There is also said to be an imperfect copy in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury.

4. Skot. Copy in the Britwell Library.

It is this last which is here reprinted. The title and the last page are reproduced in photographic facsimile, while the reprint aims at following the original as accurately as possible.

This original is a small and thin quarto volume, having the collation A⁴B⁸C⁴, two sheets being sewn together in the second quire.

There are no running-title, pagination or catch-words ; there are, however, signatures and signature-titles. A1 (not signed) is occupied by the title with the woodcut below ; the verso is blank. The text begins, without head-title, on A2 and ends on C4, the verso being occupied by

the colophon and the printer's device. It is worth while mentioning that the cut of Everyman on the titlepage, though apparently the same as in Skot's other edition, is a different block from that found in *Hickscorner* and the *Interlude of Youth*. Both, however, go back to the same original in Antoine Vérard's *Terence*. The original volume measures 220×124 mm., while the page of print, including signatures and speakers' names, is 155×109 mm. The whole titlepage measures 157×97 mm. and the printers' mark 96×72 mm. These last have got slightly enlarged in the process of reproduction.

The present edition was to have been prepared under the editorship of Dr Logeman, who would, no doubt, have been able to include in it much valuable information. When however he was prevented by other work from carrying out his intentions in the present instance, it was thought well, instead of postponing the work indefinitely, to issue a facsimile reprint of the only complete copy at present available, and to hold over until some future occasion all critical apparatus. It is hoped that an opportunity will before long occur of publishing materials for a complete comparison of the extant texts.

The editors' best thanks are due to Mrs Christie Miller for her kindness in allowing them the use of the original preserved at Britwell Court. They are further indebted to Mr R. E. Graves, the librarian of the Britwell collection, through whose courtesy the original was placed at their disposal at the British Museum.

There begynneth a treatyse how þe hye
fader of heuen sendeth Deth to sa-
mon every creature to come and
gyue a counte of theyr lyues in
this worlde/and is in maner
of a morall playe. —



I

Pray you all gyue your audyence
 And here this mater with reuerence
 By fygure a morall playe
 The somonyng of euery mā called it is

- 5 That of our lynes and endyng shewes
How transytory we be all daye
 This mater is wonders precyous
 But the entent of it is more gracyous
 And swete to here awaye
- 10 The story sayth man in the begynnyng
 Loke well and take good heed to the endyng
 Be you neuer so gay
 Ye thynke synne in the begynnyng full swete
 Whiche in the ende causeth the soule to wepe
- 15 Whan the body lyeth in claye
Here shall you se how felawshyp / and Iolyte
Bothe / strengthe / pleasure / and beaute
Wyll fade from the as floure in maye
For ye shall here how our heuen kynge
- 20 Calleth euery man to a generall rekenyng
 Gyue audyence and here what he doth saye.

¶ God speketh.

God.

- ¶ I perceyue here in my maieste
 How that all creatures be to me vnkynde
 Lyuyng without drede in worldely prosperyte
- 25 Of ghostly syght the people be so blynde
 Drowned in synne they know me not for theyr god
 In worldely ryches is all theyr mynde
 They fere not my ryghtwysnes the sharpe rood
 My lawe that I shewed whan I for them dyed
- 30 They forgeete clene / and shedyng of my blodere
 I hanged bytwene two it can not be denyed

The Som.

A.ii.

- To gete them lyfe I suffred to be deed
 I heled theyr fete / with thornes hurt was my heed
 I coude do nomore than I dyde truely
 35 And nowe I se the people do clene for sake me
 They vse the seuen deedly synnes damphable
 As pryde coueytyse wrathe and lechery
 Now in the worlde be made commendable
 And thus they leue of aūgelles y̅ heuenly company
 40 Euery man lyueth so after his owne pleasure
 And yet of theyr lyfe they be nothings sure
 I se the more that I them forbere
 The worse they be fro yere to yere
 All that lyueth appayreth faste
 45 Therefore I wyll in all the haste
 Haue a rekenynge of euery mannes persone
 For and I leue the people thus alone
 In theyr lyfe and wycked tempestes
 Veryly they wyll become moche worse than beestes
 50 For now one wolde by enuy another vp ete
 Charyte they do all clene forgete
 I hoped well that euery man
 In my glory shulde make his mansyon
 And therto I had them all electe
 55 But now I se lyke traytours deiecte
 They thanke me not for y̅ pleasure y̅ I to thē ment
 Nor yet for theyr beyng that I them haue lent
 I profered the people grete multytude of mercy
 And fewe there be that asketh it hertly
 60 They be so combred with worldly ryches
 That nedes on them I must do Iustyce
 On euery man lyuyng without fere
 Where arte thou deth thou myghty messengere

¶ Dethe.

Dethe.

¶ Almyghty god I am here at your wyll
65 Your commaundement to fulfyll.

¶ Go thou to euery man

God.

And shewe hym in my name

A pylgrymage he must on hym take

Which he in no wyse may escape

70 And that he brynge with hym a sure rekenyng
Without delay or ony taryenge.

¶ Lorde I wyll in the worlde go renne ouer all

Dethe.

And cruelly out serche bothe grete and small

Euery man wyll I beset that lyueth beestly

75 Out of goddes lawes and dredeth not foly
He that loueth rychesse I wyll stryke w^t my darte
His syght to blynde and fro heuen to departe
Excepte that almes be his good frende
In hell for to dwell worlde without ende

80 Loo yonder I se Euery man walkyng
Full lytell he thynketh on my comyng
His mynde is on fleshely lustes and his treasure
And grete payne it shall cause hym to endure
Before the lorde heuen kyng

85 Euery man stande styll whyder arte thou goyng
Thus gayly / hast thou thy maker forgete.

¶ Euery man.

¶ Why askest thou

euery mā

Woldest thou wete.

¶ Ye syr I wyll shewe you

Dethe.

90 In grete hast I am sende to the
Fro god out of his mageste

¶ What sente to me.

euery mā

¶ Ye certaynly.

Dethe.

The Som.

A.iii.

Thoughe thou haue forgete hym here

95 He thyneketh on the in the heuenly spere

As or we departe thou shalte knowe.

euery mā. ¶ What desyreth god of me.

Dethe. ¶ That shall I shewe the

A rekenynge he wyll nedes haue

100 Without ony lenger respyte.

euery mā. ¶ To gyue a rekenynge longer layser I craue

This blynde mater troubleth my wytte.

Dethe ¶ On the thou must take a longe Iourney

Therefore thy boke of counte w^t the thou brynge

105 For turne agayne thou can not by no waye

And loke thou be sure of thy rekenynge

For before god thou shalte answere and shewe

Thy many badde dedes and good but a fewe

How thou hast spent thy lyfe and in what wyse

110 Before the chefe lorde of paradyse

Haue I do we were in that waye

For wete thou well y^e shalte make none attournay.

euery mā. ¶ Full vnredy I am suche rekenynge to gyue

I knowe the not what messenger arte thou.

Dethe. ¶ I am dethe that no man dredeth

For euery man I rest and no man spareth

For it is goddes commaundement

That all to me sholde be obedyent.

euery mā. ¶ O deth thou comest whā I had y^e leest in mynde

120 In thy power it lyeth me to saue

Yet of my good wyl I gyue y^e yf thou wyl be kynde

Ye a thousande pounce shalte thou haue

And dyfferre this mater tyll an other daye

Dethe. ¶ Euery man it may not be by no waye

125 I set not by golde syluer nor rychesse

Ne by pope / emperour / kyng / duke ne prynces
 For and I wolde receyue gyftes grete
 All the worlde I myght gete
 But my custome is clene contrary

130 I gyue the no respyte come hens and not tary.

¶ Alas shall I haue no lenger respyte

euery mā.

I may saye deth geueth no warnynge
 To thynke on the it maketh my herte seke
 For all vnredy is my boke of rekenynge

135 But .xii. yere and I myght haue a bydynge
 My countynge boke I wolde make so clere
 That my rekenynge I sholde not nede to fere
 Wherefore deth I praye the for goddes mercy
 Spare me tyll I be prouyded of remedy.

140 ¶ The auayleth not to crye wepe and praye
 But hast the lyghtly that y^e were gone y^e Iournaye
 And preue thy frendes yf thou can
 For wete thou well the tyde abydeyth no man
 And in the worlde eche lyuyng creature

Dethe.

145 For Adams synne must dye of nature.

¶ Dethe yf I sholde this pylgrymage take
 And my rekenynge suerly make
 Shewe me for saynt charyte
 Sholde I not come agayne shortly.

euery mā.

150 ¶ No euery man and thou be ones there
 Thou mayst neuer more come here
 Trust me veryly.

Dethe.

¶ O gracyous god in the hye sete celestyall
 Haue mercy on me in this moost nede

euery mā.

155 Shall I haue no company fro this vale terestryall
 Of myne acquyeynce that way me to lede.

¶ Ye yf ony be so hardy

Dethe.

That wolde go with the and bere the company
 Hye the that y^u were gone to goddes magnyfycence

160 Thy rekenynge to gyue before his presence.

What wenest thou thy lyue is gyuen the
 And thy worldely gooddes also.

euery mā. ¶ I had wende so veryle.

Dethe. ¶ Nay nay it was but lende the

165 For as soone as thou arte go

Another a whyle shall haue it and than go ther fro
 Euen as thou hast done

Euery man y^u arte made thou hast thy wyttes fyue
 And here on erthe wyll not amende thy lyue

170 For sodeynly I do come.

euery mā. ¶ O wretched caytyfe wheder shall I flee

That I myght scape this endles sorowe.

Now gentyll deth spare me tyll to morowe

That I may amende me

175 With good aduysement

Dethe. ¶ Naye therto I wyll not consent

Nor no man wyll I respyte

But to the herte sodeynly I shall smyte

Without ony aduysement

180 And now out of thy syght I wyll me hy

Se thou make the redy shortely

For thou mayst saye this is the daye

That no man lyuyng may scape a waye

euery mā. ¶ Alas I may well wepe with syghes depe

185 Now haue I no maner of company

To helpe me in my Iourney and me to kepe

And also my wrytynge is full vnredy

How shall I do now for to excuse me

I wolde to god I had neuer begete

- 190 To my soule a full grete profyte it had be
 For now I fere paynes huge and grete
 The tyme passeth lorde helpe that all wrought
 For though I mourne it auayleth nought
 The day passeth and is almoost ago
- 195 I wote not well what for to do
 To whome were I best my complaynt to make
 What and I to felawshyp therof spake
 And shewed hym of this sodeyne chaunce
 For in hym is all myne affyaunce
- 200 We haue in the worlde so many a daye
 Be good frendes in sporte and playe
 I se hym yonder certaynely
 I trust that he wyll bere me company
 Therfore to hym wyll I speke to ese my sorowe
- 205 Well mette good felawshyp and good morowe.

¶ Felawshyp speketh.

- ¶ Euery man good morowe by this daye felawship
 Syr why lokest thou so pyteously
 If ony thyng be a mysse I praye the me saye
 That I may helpe to remedy.
- 210 ¶ Ye good felawshyp ye euery mā.
 I am in greate ieoparde.
- ¶ My true frende shewe to me your mynde felawship
 I wyll not forsake the to my lyues ende
 In the waye of good company.
- 215 ¶ That was well spoken and louyngly. euery mā.
 ¶ Syr I must nedes knowe your heuynesse felawship
 I haue pyte to se you in ony dystresse
 If ony haue you wronged ye shall reuenged be
 Thoughe I on the grounde be slayne for the
- 220 Though that I knowe before that I sholde dye.
 The Som. B.i.

euery mā. ¶ Veryly felawshyp gramerey.

felawship ¶ Tusshe by thy thanks I set not a strawe
Shewe me your grefe and saye no more.

euery mā. ¶ If I my herte sholde to you breke

225 And than you to tourne your mynde fro me
And wolde not me comforte whan ye here me speke
Than sholde I tentymes soryer be.

felawship ¶ Syr I saye as I wyll do in dede.

euery mā. ¶ Than be you a good frende at nede

230 I haue founde you true here before.

felawship ¶ And so ye shall euermore

For in fayth and thou go to hell
I wyll not forsake the by the waye.

euery mā. ¶ Ye speke lyke a good frende I byleue you well

235 I shall deserue it and I may.

felawship ¶ I speke of no deseruyng by this daye

For he that wyll saye and nothyng do
Is not worthy with good company to go
Therefore shewe me the grefe of your mynde

240 As to your frende mooste louynge and kynde.

euery mā. ¶ I shall shewe you how it is

Commaunded I am to go a iournaye
A longe waye harde and daungerous
And gyue a straye counte without delaye

245 Before the hye Iuge adonay

Wherfore I pray you here me company
As ye haue promysed in this iournaye.

felawship ¶ That is mater in dede promyse is duty

But and I sholde take suche a vyage on me

250 I knowe it well it shulde be to my payne

Also it make me aferde certayne

But let vs take counsell here as well as we can

- For your wordes wolde fere a stronge man.
 ¶ Why ye sayd yf I had nede euery mā.
 255 Ye wolde me neuer forsake quyeke ne deed
 Thoughe it were to hell truely.
 ¶ So I sayd certaynely felawship
 But suche pleasures be set a syde the sothe to saye
 And also yf we toke suche a iournaye
 260 Whan sholde we come agayne.
 ¶ Naye neuer agayne tyll the daye of dome euery mā.
 ¶ In fayth than wyll not I come there felawship
 who hath you these tydynges brought.
 ¶ In dede deth was with me here. euery mā.
 265 ¶ Now by god that all hathe bought felawshyp
 If deth were the messenger
 For no man that is lyuyng to daye
 I wyll not go that lothe iournaye
 Not for the fader that bygate me.
 270 ¶ Ye promysed other wyse parde. euery mā.
 ¶ I wote well I say so truely felawship
 And yet yf y^u wylte ete & drynke & make good chere
 Or haunt to women the lusty company
 I wolde not forsake you whyle the daye is clere
 275 Truste me veryly euery mā.
 ¶ Ye therto ye wolde be redy
 To go to myrthe solas and playe
 Your mynde wyll soner apply
 Than to bere me company in my longe iournaye.
 280 ¶ Now in good fayth I wyll not that waye felawship
 But and thou wyll murder or ony man kyll
 In that I wyll helpe the with a good wyll.
 ¶ O that is a symple aduyse in dede euery mā.
 Gentyll felawe helpe me in my necessity

The Som.

B.ii.

- 285 We haue loued longe and now I nede
And now gentyll felawshyp remembre me.
felawship ¶ Wheder ye haue loued me or no
By saynt Johñ I wyll not with the go.
euery mā. ¶ Yet I pray the take y^e labour & do so moche for me
290 To brynge me forwarde for saynt charyte
And comforte me tyll I come without the towne.
felawship ¶ Nay and thou wolde gyue me a newe gowne
I wyll not a fote with the go
But and y^e had taryed I wolde not haue lefte the so
295 And as now god spede the in thy Iournaye
For from the I wyll departe as fast as I maye.
euery mā. ¶ Wheder a waye felawshyp wyll y^e forsake me.
felawship ¶ Ye by my faye to god I be take the.
euery mā. ¶ Farewell good felawshyp for y^e my herte is sore
300 A dewe for euer I shall se the no more-
felawship ¶ In fayth euery man fare well now at the ende
For you I wyll remēbre y^e ptynge is mournynge.
euery mā. ¶ A lacke shall we this departe in dede
A lady helpe without ony more comforte
305 Lo felawshyp forsaketh me in my moost nede
For helpe in this worlde wheder shall I resorte
Felawshyp here before with me wolde mery make
And now lytell sorowe for me dooth he take
It is sayd in prosperyte men frendes may fynde
310 Whiche in aduersyte be full vnkynde
Now wheder for socoure shall I flee
Syth that felawshyp hath forsaken me
To my kynnesmen I wyll truely
Prayenge them to helpe me in my necessyte
315 I byleue that they wyll do so
For kynde wyll crepe where it may not go

- I wyll go saye for yonder I se them go
Where be ye now my frendes and kynnesmen.
- ¶ Here be we now at your commaundement Kynrede.
- 320 Cosyn I praye you shewe vs your entent
In ony wyse and not spare.
- ¶ Ye euery man and to vs declare Cosyn.
Yf ye be dysposed to go ony whyder
For wete you well wyll lyue and dye to gyder.
- 325 ¶ In welth and wo we wyll with you holde Kynrede.
For ouer his kynne a man may be holde.
- ¶ Gramercy my frendes and kynnesmen kynde euery mā.
Now shall I shewe you the grefe of my mynde
I was commaunded by a messenger
- 330 That is a hye kynges chefe offycer
He bad me go a pylgrymage to my payne
And I knowe well I shall neuer come agayne
Also I must gyue a rekenyng straye
For I haue a grete enemy that hath me in wayte
- 335 Whiche entendeth me for to hynder.
- ¶ What a counte is that whiche ye must render Kynrede.
That wolde I knowe.
- ¶ Of all my workes I must shewe euery mā
How I haue lyued and my dayes spent
- 340 Also of yll dedes that I haue vsed
In my tyme syth lyfe was me lent
And of all vertues that I haue refused
Therefore I praye you go thyder with me
To helpe to make myn accounte for saynt charyte.
- 345 ¶ What to go thyder is that the mater Cosyn.
Nay euery man I had leuer fast brede and water
All this fyue yere and more.
- ¶ Alas that euer I was bore euery mā
The Som. B.iii.

For now shall I neuer be mery

350 If that you forsake me.

Kynrede. ¶ A syr what ye be a mery man

Take good herte to you and make no mone

But one thyng I warne you by saynt Anne

As for me ye shall go alone. *for*

euery mā. ¶ My cosyn wyll you not with me go.

Cosyn. ¶ No by our lady I haue the crampe in my to

Trust not to me for so god me spede

I wyll deceyue you in your moost nede.

Kynrede. ¶ It auayleth not vs to tye

360 Ye shall haue my mayde with all my herte

She loueth to go to feestes there to be nyse

And to daunce and a brode to sterte

I wyll gyue her leue to helpe you in that Iourney

If that you and she may a gree.

euery mā. ¶ Now shewe me the very effecte of your mynde

Wyll you go with me or abyde be hynde. *g*

Kynrede. ¶ Abyde behynde / ye that wyll I and I maye

Therfore farewell tyll another daye.

euery mā. ¶ Howe sholde I be mery or gladde

370 For fayre promyses men to me make

But whan I haue moost nede they me forsake

I am deceyued that maketh me sadde.

Cosyn. ¶ Cosyn euery man farewell now

For veryly I wyll not go with you

375 Also of myne owne an vnredy rekenyng

I haue to accoûte therfore I make taryenge

Now god kepe the for now I go.

euery mā. ¶ A Iesus is all come here to

Lo fayre wordes maketh fooles fayne

380 They promyse and nothyng wyll do certayne

- My kynnesmen promysed me faythfully
 For to a hyde with me stedfastly
 And now fast a waye do they flee
 Euen so felawshyp promysed me
- 385 What frende were best me of to prouyde
 I lose my tyme here longer to abyde
 Yet in my mynde a thyng there is
 All my lyfe I haue loued ryches
 If that my good now helpe me myght
- 390 He wolde make my herte full lyght
 I wyll speke to hym in this dystresse
 Where arte thou my gooddes and ryches.
- ¶ Who calleth me euery man what hast thou haster Goodes.
 I lye here in corners trussed and pyled so hye
- 395 And in chestes I am locked so fast
 Also sacked in bagges thou mayst se with thyn eye
 I can not styre in packes lowe I lye
 What wolde ye haue lyghtly me saye.
- ¶ Come hyder good in al the hast thou may euery mā.
- 400 For of counseyll I must desyre the.
 ¶ Syr & ye i the worlde haue sorowe or aduersyte Goodes.
 That can I helpe you to remedy shortly.
- ¶ It is another dysease that greueth me euery mā.
 In this worlde it is not I tell the so
- 405 I am sent for an other way to go
 To gyue a strayte counte generall
 Before the hiest Iupyer of all
 And all my lyfe I haue had loye & pleasure in the
 Therfore I pray the go with me
- 410 For parauenture thou mayst before god almyghty
 My rekenynge helpe to clene and purifye
 For it is sayd euer amonge

The Som.

B.iiii.

That money maketh all ryght that is wronge.

Goodes. ¶ Nay euery man I synge an other songe

415 I folowe no man in suche vyages

For and I wente with the

Thou sholdes fare moche the worse for me

For bycause on me thou dyd set thy mynde

Thy rekenyng I haue made blotted and blynde

420 That thyne accounte thou can not make truly

And that hast thou for the loue of me.

euery m̃a. ¶ That wolde greue me full sore

Whan I sholde come to that ferefull answer

Vp let vs go thither to gyder.

Goodes. ¶ Nay not so I am to brytell I may not endure

I wyll folowe man one fote be ye sure.

euery m̃a. ¶ Alas I haue the loued and had grete pleasure

All my lyfe dayes on good and treasure.

Goodes. ¶ That is to thy dampnacyō without lesyng

430 For my loue is contrary to the loue euerlastyng

But yf thou had me loued moderately duryng

As to the poore gyue parte of me

Than sholdest thou not in this dolour be

Nor in this grete sorowe and care.

euery m̃a. ¶ Lo now was I deceyued or I was ware

And all I may wyte my spendyng of tyme.

Goodes. ¶ What wenest thou that I am thyne.

euery m̃a. ¶ I had went so.

Goodes. ¶ Naye euery man I saye no

440 As for a whyle I was lente the

A season thou hast had me in prosperyte

My condycyon is mannes soule to kyll

Yf I saue one a thousande I do spyll

Wenest thou that I wyll folowe the

445 Nay fro this worlde not veryle.

¶ I had wende otherwyse.

euery mā.

¶ Therefore to thy soule good is a thefe
For whan thou arte deed this is my gyse
Another to deceyue in this same wyse

Goodes.

450 As I haue done the and all to his soules reпре.

¶ O false good cursed thou be

euery mā.

Thou traytour to god that hast deceyued me
And caught me in thy snare.

¶ Mary thou brought thy selfe in care

Goodes.

455 Wherof I am gladde

I must nedes laugh I can not be sadde.

¶ A good thou hast had longe my hertely loue

euery mā.

I gaue the that whiche sholde be the lordes aboue
But wylte thou not go with me in dede

460 I praye the trouth to saye.

¶ No so god me spede

Goodes.

Therefore fare well and haue good daye.

¶ O to whome shall I make my mone

euery mā.

For to go with me in that heuy Iournaye

465 Fyrst felawshyp sayd he wolde with me gone

His wordes were very plesaunte and gaye

But afterwarde he lefte me alone

Than spake I to my kynnesmen all in despayre

An also they gaue me wordes fayre

470 They lacked no fayre spekyng

But all forsake me in the endyng

Than wente I to my goodes that I loued best

In hope to haue comforte but there had I leest

For my goodes sharpely dyd me tell

475 That he bryngeth many in to hell

Than of my selfe I was ashamed

And so I am worthy to be blamed
 Thus may I well my selfe hate
 Of whome shall I now counseyll take

480 I thynke that I shall neuer spede
 Tyll that I go to my good dede
 But alas she is so weke

That she can nother go nor speke
 Yet wyll I venter on her now

485 My good dedes where be you.

Good dede ¶ Here I lye colde in the grounde
 Thy synnes hath me sore bounde
 That I can not stere.

euery mā. ¶ O good dedes I stande in fere

490 I must you pray of counseyll
 For helpe now sholde come ryght well.

Good dede ¶ Euery man I haue vnderstandynge
 That ye be somoned a counte to make
 Before Myssyas of Iherusalem kynge

495 And you do by me y^e Iournay w^h you wyll I take.

euery mā. ¶ Therfore I come to you my moone to make
 I praye you that ye wyll go with me.

Good dede ¶ I wolde full fayne but I can not stande veryly.

euery mā. ¶ Why is there ony thyng on you fall.

Good dede ¶ Ye syr I may thanke you of all

Yf ye had parfytely chered me

Your boke of counte full redy had be

Loke the bokes of your workes and dedes eke

Ase how they lye vnder the fete

505 To your soules heuynes.

euery mā. ¶ Our lorde Iesus helpe me

For one letter here I can not se.

Goode dede ¶ There is a blynde rekenynge in tyme of dystres.

- ¶ Good dedes I praye you helpe me in this nede euery mā.
 510 Or elles I am for euer dampned in dede
 Therefore helpe me to make rekenynge
 Before the redemer of all thynges
 That kynge is and was and euer shall.
 ¶ Euery man I am sory of your fall Good dede
 515 And fayne wolde I helpe you and I were able.
 ¶ Good dedes your counseyll I pray you gyue me. euery mā.
 ¶ That shall I do verily Good dede
 Thoughe that on my fete I may not go
 I haue a syster that shall with you also
 520 Called knowlege whiche shall with you abyde
 To helpe you to make that dredefull rekenynge
 ¶ Euery man I wyll go with the and be thy gyde knowlege
 In thy moost nede to go by thy syde.
 ¶ In good condycyon I am now in euery thynges euery mā.
 525 And am hole content with this good thynges
 Thanked by god my creature.
 ¶ And whan he hath brought you there Good dede
 Where thou shalte hele the of thy smarte
 Thā go you w your rekenynge & your good dedes)
 530 For to make you Ioyfull at herte (to gyder
 Before the blessyd trynyte.
 ¶ My good dedes gramercy euery mā.
 I am well content certaynly
 With your wordes swete.
 535 ¶ Now go we to gyder louyngly knowlege
 To confessyon that clensyng ryuere.
 ¶ For Ioy I wepe I wolde we were there euery mā.
 But I pray you gyue me cognycyon
 Where dwelleth that holy man confessyon.
 540 ¶ In the hous of saluacyon knowlege

- We shall fynde hym in that place
 That shall vs comforte by goddes grace
 Lo this is confessyon knele downe & aske mercy
 For he is in good conceyte with god almyghty.
 euery m̃. ¶ O gloryous foūtayne ỹ all vncleñes doth claryfy
 Wasshe fro me the spottes of vyce vncleñe
 That on me no synne may be sene
 I come with knowlege for my redempcyon
 Redempte with herte and full contrycyon
 550 For I am commaunded a pylgrymage to take
 And grete accountes before god to make
 Now I praye you shryfte moder of saluacyon
 Helpe my good dedes for my pyteous exclamacyon.
 Cōfessyō. ¶ I knowe your sorowe well euery man
 555 Bycause with knowlege ye come to me
 I wyll you comforte as well as I can
 And a precyous Iewell I wyll gyue the
 Called penaunce voyce voyder of aduersyte
 Therwith shall your body chastysed be
 560 With abstynence & perseueraūce in goddes seruyce
 Here shall you receyue that scourge of me
 Whiche is penaunce stronge that ye must endure
 To remembre thy sauour was scourged for the
 With sharpe scourges and suffred it paciently
 565 So must ỹ or thou scape that paynful pylgrymage
 Knowlege kepe hym in this vyage
 And by that tyme good dedes wyll be with the
 But in ony wyse be seker of mercy
 For your tyme draweth fast and ye wyll saued be
 570 Aske god mercy and he wyll graunte truely
 Whan w̃ the scourge of penaūce m̃ doth h̃y bynde
 The oyle of forgyuenes than shall he fynde.

- ¶ Thanked be god for his gracyous werke euery mā.
 For now I wyll my penaunce begyn
 575 This hath reioysed and lyghted my herte
 Though the knottes be paynfull and harde within
 ¶ Euery man loke your penaunce that ye fulfyll knowlege
 What payne that euer it to you be
 And knowlege shall gyue you counseyll at wyll
 580 How your accounte ye shall make clerely.
 ¶ O eternall god / O heuenly fygure euery mā.
 O way of ryghtwysnes / O goodly vysyon
 Whiche descended downe in a vyrgyn pure
 Bycause he wolde euery man redeme
 585 Whiche Adam forfayted by his dysobedyence
 O blessyd god heed electe and hye deuyne
Forgyue my greuous offence
 Here I crye the mercy in this presence
 O ghostly treasure. O raunsomer and redemer
 590 Of all the worlde hope and conduyter
 Myrrour of Ioye foundatour of mercy
 Whiche enlumyneth heuen and erth therby
 Here my clamorous complaynt though it late be
 Receyue my prayers vnworthy in this heuy lyfe
 595 Though I be a synner moost abhomynable
 Yet let my name be wryten in moyses table
 O mary praye to the maker of all thynges
 Me for to helpe at my endynges
 And saue me fro the power of my enemy
 600 For deth assayleth me strongly
 And lady that I may by meane of thy prayer
 Of your sones glory to be partynere
 By the meanes of his passyon I it craue
 I besече you helpe my soule to saue

605 Knowlege gyue me the scourge of penaunce
 My flesshe therwith shall gyue acqueyntaunce
 I wyll now begyn yf god gyue me grace.

knowlege ¶ Euery man god gyue you tyme and space
 Thus I bequeth you in y^e handes of our sauour

610 Now may you make your rekenyng sure
 euery mā. ¶ In the name of the holy trynity

My body sore punysshed shall be
 Take this body for the synne of the flesshe
 Also thou delytest to go gay and fresshe

615 And in the way of dampnacyon y^e dyd me brynge
 Therfore suffre now strokes of punysshynge
 Now of penaunce I wyll wade the water clere
 To saue me from purgatory that sharpe fyre.

Good dede ¶ I thanke god now I can walke and go

620 And am delyuered of my sykenesse and wo
 Therfore with euery man I wyll go and not spare
 His good workes I wyll helpe hym to declare.

knowlege ¶ Now euery man be mery and glad
 Your good dedes cometh now ye may not be sad

625 Now is your good dedes hole and sounde
 Goyng vpryght vpon the grounde.

euery mā. ¶ My herte is lyght and shalbe euermore
 Now wyll I smyte faster than I dyde before.

Good dede ¶ Euery man pylgryme my specyall frende

630 Blessyd be thou without ende
 For the is preparate the eternall glory
 Ye haue me made hole and sounde
 Therfore I wyll byde by the in euery stounde.

euery mā. ¶ Welcome my good dedes now I here thy voyce

635 I wepe for very swetenes of loue.

knowlege ¶ Be no more sad but euer reioyce

- God seeth thy lyuyng in his trone above
 Put on this garment to thy behoue
 Whiche is wette with your teres
 640 Or elles before god you may it mysse
 Whan ye to your iourneys ende come shall.
 ¶ Gentyll knowlege what do ye it call. every mā
 ¶ It is a garmente of sorowe knowlege
 Fro payne it wyll you borowe
 645 Contrycyon it is
 That getteth forgyuenes
 He pleasyth god passyng well.
 ¶ Euery man wyll you were it for your hele. Good dede
 ¶ Now blessyd be Iesu maryes sone every mā
 650 For now haue I on true contrycyon
 And lette vs go now without taryenge
 Good dedes haue we clere our rekenyng.
 ¶ Ye in dede I haue here. Good dede
 ¶ Than I trust we nede not fere every mā
 655 Now frendes let vs not parte in twayne.
 ¶ Nay euery man that wyll we not certayne. Kynrede.
 ¶ Yet must thou led with the Good dede
 Thre persones of grete myght.
 ¶ Who sholde they be. every mā
 660 ¶ Dyscrecyon and strength they hyght Good dede
 And thy beaute may not abyde behynde.
 ¶ Also ye must call to mynde knowlege
 Your fyue wyttes as for your counseylours.
 ¶ You must haue them redy at all houres. Good dede
 665 ¶ Howe shall I gette them hyder. every mā
 ¶ You must call them all togyder Kynrede.
 And they wyll here you in contynent.
 ¶ My frendes come hyder and be present every mā

Dyscrecyon strengthe my fyue wyttes and beaute.

Beaute. ¶ Here at your wyll we be all redy
What wyll ye that we sholde do.

Good dede ¶ That ye wolde with euery man go
And helpe hym in his pylgrymage

674 Aduyse you / wyll ye with him or not in that vyage.
strength. ¶ We wyll brynge hym all thyder

To his helpe and comforte / ye may beleue me.

Dyscreciō ¶ So wyll we go with hym all togyder.

euery mā. ¶ Almyghty god loued myght thou be
I gyue the laude that I haue hyder brought

680 Strēgth dyscrecyō beaute & .v. wyttes lacke I nou
And my good dedes with knowlege clere (ght
All be in my company at my wyll here
I desyre no more to my besynes.

strengthe. ¶ And I strength wyll by you stande in dystres

685 Though thou wolde ī batayle fyght on the groūde.

v. wyttes ¶ And though it were thugh the worlde rounde
We wyll not departe for swete ne soure.

Beaute. ¶ No more wyll I vnto dethes houre
What so euer therof befall.

Dyscreciō ¶ Euery man aduyse you fyrst of all
Go with a good aduysement and delyberacyon
We all gyue you vertuous monycyon
That all shall be well.

euery mā. ¶ My frendes harken what I wyll tell

695 I praye god rewarde you in his heuen spere
Now herken all that be here

For I wyll make my testament

Here before you all present

In almes / halfe my good I wyll gyue ŵ my hādes

700 In the way of charyte ŵ good entent (twayne

And the other halfe styll shall remayne
 In queth to be retourned there it ought to be
 This I do in despyte of the fende of hell
 To go quyte out of his perell

705 Euer after and this daye.

¶ Euerie man herken what I saye
 Go to presthode I you aduyse
 And receyue of hym in ony wyse
 The holy sacrament and oyntement togyder

knowlege

710 Than shortly se ye tourne agayne hyder
 We wyll all abyde you here.

¶ Ye euerie man hye you that ye redy were
 There is no Emperour Kinge Duke ne Baron
 That of god hath commycyon

v. wyttes.

715 As hath the leest preest in the worlde beyng
 For of the blessyd sacramentes pure and benygne
 He bereth the keyes and therof hath the cure
 For mannes redempcyon it is euer sure
 Whiche god for our soules medycyne

720 Gaue vs out of his herte with grete payne
 Here in this transytory lyfe for the and me
 The blessyd sacramentes .vii. there be
 Baptym confymacyon with preesthode good
 And y sacrament of goddes precyous flesshe & blod

725 Maryage the holy extreme vnecyon and penaunce
 These seuen be good to haue in remembraunce
 Gracyous sacramentes of hye deuyuyte.

¶ Fayne wolde I receyue that holy body
 And mekely to my ghostly fader I wyll go.

euery mā.

730 ¶ Euerie man that is the best that ye can do
 God wyll you to saluacyon brynge
 For preesthode exceedeth all other thyng

v. wyttes

The Som.

C. i.

To vs holy scrypture they do teche
 And conuerteth man fro synne heuen to reche
 735 God hath to them more power gyuen
 Than to ony aungell that is in heuen
 With .v. wordes he may consecrate
 Goddes body in flesshe and blode to make
 And handeleth his maker bytwene his hande
 740 The preest byndeth and vnbyndeth all bandes
 Both in erthe and in heuen
Thou mynystres all the sacramentes seuen
 Though we kysse thy fete thou were worthy
 Thou arte surgyon that cureth synne deedly

745 No remedy we fynde vnder god
 Bute all onely preesthode
 Euery man god gaue preest that dygnyte
 And setteth them in his stede amonge vs to be
 Thus be they aboue aūgelles in degree.

knowlege ¶ If preestes be good it is so suerly
 But whan Iesu hanged on y crosse w grete smarte
 There he gaue out of his blessyd herte
 The same sacrament in grete tourment
 He solde them not to vs that lorde omnypotent

755 Therefore saynt peter the apostell dothe saye
 That Iesus curse hath all they
 Whiche god theyr sauour do by or sell
 Or they for ony money do take or tell
 Synfull preest(gyueth the synners example bad

760 Theyr chyldrē sytteth by other mēes fyres I haue
 And some haūteth womens company (harde
 With vnclene lyfe as lustes of lechery
 These be with synne made blynde.

v. wyttes. ¶ I trust to god no suche may we fynde

- 765 Therefore let vs preesthode honour
 And folowe theyr doctryne for our soules socoure
 We be theyr shepe and they shepherdes be
 By whome we all be kepte in suerte
 Peas for yonder I se euery man come
- 770 Whiche hath made true satysfaccyon.
 ¶ Me thynke it is he in dede.
 ¶ Now Iesu be your alder spede
 I haue receyued the sacrament for my redempeyō
 And than myne extreme vnccyon
- 775 Blessyd be all they that counseyled me to take it
 And now frendes let vs go with out lōger respyte
 I thanke god that ye haue taryed so longe
 Now set eche of you on this rodde your honde
 And shortely folowe me
- 780 I go before there I wolde be God be your gyde.
 ¶ Euery man we wyll not fro you go
 Tyll ye haue done this vyage longe.
 ¶ I dyscrecyon wyll byde by you also.
 ¶ And though this pylgrymage be neuer so strōge
- 785 I wyll neuer parte you fro
 Euery man I wyll be as sure by the
 As euer I dyde by Iudas Machabee.
 ¶ Alas I am so faynt I may not stande
 My lymmes vnder me doth folde
- 790 Frendes let vs not tourne agayne to this lande
 Not for all the worldes golde
 For in to this caue must I crepe
 And tourne to erth and there to slepe.
 ¶ What in to this graue alas.
- 795 ¶ Ye there shall ye consume more and lesse.
 ¶ And what sholde I smoder here.

Good dede
 euery mā.

strength.

Dyscreciō
 knowlege

euery mā.

Beaute.
 euery mā.
 Beaute.

The Som.

C. ii.

euery mǎ. ¶ Ye by my fayth and neuer more appere
In this worlde lyue no more we shall

799 But in heuen before the hyst lorde of all.

Beaute. ¶ I crosse out all this / adewe by saynt Iohan
I take my tappe in my lappe and am gone.

euery mǎ. ¶ What beaute whyder wyll ye.

Beaute. ¶ Peas I am defe I loke not behynde me
Not & thou woldest gyue me all ỹ golde in thy chest.

euery mǎ. ¶ Alas wherto may I truste

Beaute gothe fast awaye fro me

She promysed with me to lyue and dye.

strength. ¶ Euery man I wyll the also forsake and denye

809 Thy game lyketh me not at all.

euery mǎ. ¶ Why than ye wyll forsake me all

Swete strength tary a lytell space.

strengthe. ¶ Nay syr by the rode of grace

I wyll hye me from the fast

Though thou wepe to thy herte to brast.

euery mǎ. ¶ Ye wolde euer byde by me ye sayd.

strength. ¶ Ye I haue you ferre ynoughe conueyde

Ye be olde ynoughe I vnderstande

Your pylgrymage to take on hande

819 I repent me that I hyder came.

euery mǎ. ¶ Strength you to dysplease I am to blame

Wyll ye breke promyse that is dette.

strength. ¶ In fayth I care not

Thou arte but a foole to complayne

You spende your speche and wast your brayne

825 Go thyrst the in to the grounde.

euery mǎ. ¶ I had wende surer I shulde you haue founde

He that trusteth in his strength

She hym deceyueth at the length

- Bothe strength and beaute forsaketh me
- 830 Yet they promysed me fayre and loungly.
 ¶ Euery man I will after strength be gone Dyscreciō
 As for me I will leue you alone.
 ¶ Why dyscrecyon wyll ye forsake me. euery mā.
 ¶ Ye in fayth I wyll go fro the Dyscreciō
- 835 For whan strength goth before
 I folowe after euer more.
 ¶ Yet I pray the for the loue of the trynyte euery mā.
 Loke in my graue ones pyteously.
 ¶ Nay so nye wyll I not come Dyscreciō
- 840 Fare well euerychone.
 ¶ O all thyng fayleth saue god alone euery mā
 Beaute strength and dyscrecyon
 For whan deth bloweth his blast
 They all renne fro me full fast.
- 845 ¶ Euery man my leue now of the I take v. wyttes
 I wyll folowe the other for here I the forsake.
 ¶ Alas than may I wayle and wepe euery mā.
 For I toke you for my best frende.
 ¶ I wyll no lenger the kepe v. wyttes
- 850 Now fare well and there an ende.
 ¶ O Iesu helpe all hath forsaken me. euery mā.
 ¶ Nay euery man I wyll hyde with the Good dede
 I wyll not forsake the in dede
 Thou shalte fynde me a good frende at nede.
- 855 ¶ Gramercy good dedes now may I true frēdes se euery mā.
 They haue forsaken me euerychone
 I loued them better than my good dedes alone
 Knowlege wyll ye forsake me also.
 ¶ Ye euery man whan ye to deth shall go knowlege
- 860 But not yet for no maner of daunger.

The Som.

G. iii.

euery mā. ¶ Gramercy knowlege with all my herte.

knowlege ¶ Nay yet I wyll not from hens departe

Tyll I se where ye shall be come.

euery mā. ¶ Me thynke alas that I must be gone

865 To make my rekenynge and my dettes paye

For I se my tyme is nye spent awaye

Take example all ye that this do here or se

How they that I loue best do forsake me

Excepte my good dedes that bydeth truely.

Good dede ¶ All erthly thynges is but vanyte

Beaute strength / and dyscrecyon do man forsake

Folysshe frendes and kynnesmen that fayre spake

All fleeth saue good dedes and that am I.

euery mā. ¶ Haue mercy on me god moost myghty

875 And stande by me thou moder & mayde holy Mary

Good dede ¶ Fere not I wyll speke for the.

euery mā. ¶ Here I crye god mercy.

Good dede ¶ Shorte oure ende and mynysshe our payne

Let vs go and neuer come agayne.

euery mā. ¶ In to thy handes lorde my soule I commende

Receyue it lorde that it be not lost

As thou me boughtest so me defende

And saue me from the fendes boost

That I may appere with that blessyd hoost

885 That shall be saued at the day of dome

(In manus tuas) of myghtes moost

For euer (Cōmendo spiritum meum.)

knowlege ¶ Now hath he suffred that we all shall endure

The good dedes shall make all sure

890 Now hath he made endynge

Me thynketh that I here aungelles synge

And make grete Ioy and melody

Where euery mannes soule receyued shall be.

¶ Come excellent electe spouse to Iesu

the aūgell.

895 Here aboute thou shalte go

Bycause of thy synguler vertue

Now the soule is taken the body fro

Thy rekenynge is crystall clere

Now shalte thou in to the heuenly spere

900 Vnto the whiche all ye shall come

That lyueth well before the daye of dome.

¶ This morall men may haue in mynde

Doctour.

Ye herers take it of worth olde and yonge

And forsake pryde for he deceyueth you in the ende

905 And remembre beaute .v. wyttes strēgth & dycrecyō

They all at the last do euery man forsake

Saue his good dedes there dothe he take

But be ware and they be small

Before god he hath no helpe at all

910 None excuse may be there for euery man

Alas how shall he do than

For after dethe amendes may no man make

For than mercy and pyte doth hym forsake

If his rekenynge be not clere whan he doth come

915 God wyll saye (ite maledicti in ignem eternum)

And he that hath his accounte hole and sounde

Hye in heuen he shall be crounde

Vnto whiche place god brynge vs all thyder

That we may lyue body and soule togyder

920 Therto helpe the trynyte

Amen saye ye for saynt charyte.

F I N I S.

¶ Thus endeth this morall playe of euery man.
¶ Imprinted at London in Poules
 chyrche yerde by me
 Iohn Skot.
 ✠



Materialien zur Kunde
des
älteren Englischen Dramas

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des älteren Englischen Dramas

UNTER MITWIRKUNG DER HERREN

F. S. Boas-BELFAST, A. Brandl-BERLIN, R. Brotanek-WIEN, F. I. Carpenter-CHICAGO, G. B. Churchill-AMHERST, W. Creizenach-KRAKAU, E. Eckhardt-FREIBURG I. B., R. Fischer-INNSBRUCK, W. W. Greg-LONDON, F. Holthausen-KIEL, J. Hoops-HEIDELBERG, W. Keller-JENA, R. B. Mc Kerrow-LONDON, G. L. Kittredge-CAMBRIDGE, MASS., E. Koeppe-STRASSBURG, H. Logeman-GENT, J. M. Manly-CHICAGO, G. Sarrazin-BRESLAU, L. Proescholdt-FRIEDRICHSBURG, A. Schröder-CÖLN, G. C. Moore Smith-SHEFFIELD, A. E. H. Swaen-AMSTERDAM, A. H. Thorndike-EVANSTON, ILL., A. Wagner-HALLE. S.

BEGRUENDET UND HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

W. BANG

o. ö. Professor der Englischen Philologie an der Universität Louvain

FÜNFTER BAND

LOUVAIN
A. UYSTPRUYST

LEIPZIG
O. HARRASSOWITZ

LONDON
DAVID NUTT

1904

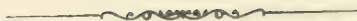
A NEW ENTERLUDE
OF GODLY QUEENE HESTER

EDITED

FROM THE QUARTO OF 1561

BY

W. W. Greg.



LOUVAIN
A. UYSTPRUYST

LEIPZIG
O. HARRASSOWITZ

LONDON
DAVID NUTT

1904

INTRODUCTION.

The « newe enterlude drawn oute of the holy scripture of godly queene Hester » has come down to us, so far as is known, in a single copy only of a single edition. It forms one of the many treasures of the Devonshire collection. The colophon of this edition states that it was « Imprynted at London by Wyllyam Pickerynge and Thomas Hacket », and the title-page adds the date 1561. Since the license to « William pekerynge » for the printing of « a playe of queene Hester » was entered on the Stationers' Register between November 30, 1560, and March 8, 1561, (Arber, I, 154) we have every reason to suppose that the extant copy belongs to the first edition, while it is unlikely, in the absence of any evidence pointing that way, that a subsequent edition should have appeared. ¹⁾

The original is a small quarto having the collation A-F⁴. A 1 (unsigned) is occupied by the title within a border made up of various ornaments; the verso is blank. The text, with running-title, catchwords and signatures, but without pagination, begins, with a head-title, on A2, and ends above the colophon on F3^v. F4 (wanting) was presumably blank. The size of the leaves is 168 × 125 mm. but they have been inlaid in larger paper, and the piece has been bound up with several other plays similarly mounted. The titlepage is not inlaid like the rest of the leaves, but merely laid down on the mounting paper. On the verso is an inscription in an early hand. Being covered by the mounting paper this is difficult to decipher, but by means of a strong transmitted light I have been able to make it out to be « William Bery owe[s] this booke ». The word « owes » came at the edge of the leaf and the last letter has been cut away.

¹⁾ A ballad « intituled how the prowde Tyrante hamand Wyllyam Haged and howe the Inocente mardochei was preserved » was entered to W. Giffyth on the SR in 1563/4 (Arber, I, 283).

The volume containing this unique copy of *Queen Hester* is No. 226 of the collection made about a hundred years ago by the actor John Philip Kemble (1757-1823). The titlepage of the interlude bears two inscriptions in his handwriting. At the top of the outer margin is written on the mounting paper « Collated & Perfect. J:P:K: 1798 » while below the title but within the border are the words « First Edition ». At the beginning of the volume is a catalogue of contents also in Kemble's hand dated 1822. Whether the collection was still in his possession at that date I do not know, but he seems, during the last few years of his life, to have spent most of his time abroad, and at some time before his death in 1823 he sold his plays to the then Duke of Devonshire for the lump sum of £2000.

Queen Hester was first reprinted by J. P. Collier. His edition forms part 7 of the first volume of his *Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature* (London : Privately Printed. 1863). In the course of his Introduction he writes : « About thirty years ago, the late Duke not only gave the present editor permission to copy and reprint the play, but was kind enough afterwards to collate the MS. with the original, to mark the divisions of the pages and to add a few notes, which, with one or two others, we have appended ». The transcript here referred to is now in my possession. It appears to be in Collier's own hand, while at the end is the note « Ex^d. D. » (*i.e.* Examined. Devonshire). The text of Collier's edition is far from trustworthy, while the notes are scanty and of little value. The volume is now difficult to obtain, only fifty copies having been printed.

Ten years after the appearance of Collier's *Illustrations* the play was again reprinted. This time the editor was Dr. A. B. Grosart and the interlude appeared in the *Miscellanies of The Fuller Worthies' Library* (Printed for Private Circulation. 1873. 106 copies only). Grosart was evidently unaware of Collier's edition, for in his Introduction he writes : « This Enterlude is.... preserved in a solitary exemplar and never has been reprinted till now » ; and further on « Mr Collier and others have reproduced the Miracle-plays and kindred ; but this class of Enterludes remains very much unrepresented. » He also states that the original « cost its noble purchaser £37. 10 ». What the authority for this statement may be I cannot tell ; as

we have already seen the «noble purchaser» bought Kemble's collection *en bloc* for the sum of £2000. Lastly he says «Through-out we have reproduced *literatim et punctatim* our original». A more cautious editor would have said that it had been his aim to do so. A casual inspection has revealed some 180 passages in which his reprint differs from the original, and this number would have been considerably increased by counting the cases in which he has represented *V* and *I* by *U* and *J*.

In view of the almost equal inaccessibility of these reprints it was thought worth while attempting yet a third edition. In the preparation of this the methods adopted in the earlier volumes of the *Materialien* have again been followed, and I have some hope that the care with which the proofs have been read and re-read with the original may have resulted in the attainment of substantial accuracy. The title and the last page bearing the colophon are given in photographic facsimile, being reproduced by kind permission from blocks in the possession of the Bibliographical Society. These are unfortunately not all that could be desired, but the discoloured state of the original makes reproduction extremely difficult. It had been my intention to have supplied the present edition with the fewest possible notes, intended merely to elucidate what was obscure in the text and making no pretence to be considered as a contribution to philology. In the course of my work however I received a number of valuable suggestions from Professor Bang and Mr. R. B. McKerrow of which I gladly availed myself. Whatever value the notes may be found to possess is entirely due to these gentlemen.

Two questions remain to be discussed, namely, when and by whom the interlude was written. The date 1561 supplies us with a downward limit but it is not unlikely that the piece was composed some time previously. According to the titlepage it was «newly made» at the time of printing, which would seem to imply that it was a recent composition. It is to be remembered, however, that «newly made» was a stock advertisement phrase of the time, to which no importance can be attached ¹⁾. We are therefore thrown back upon internal evidence.

¹⁾ Cf. Collier, *Extracts from the Registers of the Stat. Reg.*, I, p. 12.

A careful consideration of the play itself will supply plenty of hints, upon which to construct a theory of its origin, but we should be careful in all such cases not to allow ourselves to forget the necessarily conjectural nature of our building. In putting forward the following theory concerning the date and authorship of *Queen Hester*, my object is rather to supply an hypothesis, the merit of which I leave it to others to determine, than to maintain a dogmatic thesis. The theory both in its inception and in its elaboration is Professor Bang's, and I wish that he could have found time to propound it himself, as I am certain he would have done so far more effectively than I can hope to do. Since, however, other and more urgent calls upon his attention made this impossible, it was decided that I should briefly lay it before our present readers for consideration, without endeavouring to make out a complete or detailed case, and without necessarily endorsing the views personally.

There is one important canon which should govern any attempt to discover a topical bearing in a work of literature based on a previously familiar story. The topical intention must, namely, be shown to exist in the original portions of the work. We must, in other words, first look to those parts which are not found in the source, or to those points in which the work differs from its source. A topical intention may indeed lead an author to select a particular story for treatment, but we have no right to assume the intention unless we can show that it exists in those portions, for which he is directly and alone responsible. If we succeed in showing this, then, but not till then, does the story itself become significant. *Queen Hester* is a case in point. It is to the comic interpolations in the story, the parts of Hardy Dardy, Pride, Ambition and Adulation, that we must look in the first instance for a topical intention. We shall probably not look long before we find one. The tone of bitter and ironic satire adopted by each of these characters, is not what one would expect from the ordinary vice or fool on the one hand, or from moral personifications on the other. Particularly is this noticeable in the case of these latter. We usually find, as indeed we should expect, that the personifications of abstract virtues and vices are endowed with the qualities they represent. In the present case, however, the vices that appear

have actually divested themselves of their proper qualities, in order to heap them, and their attendant ills, upon the head of one of the characters of the play. Pride is not proud, nor Ambition ambitious, nor Adulation sycophantic ; it is to Aman that belong these vices, arrogance, unscrupulous ambition, the readiness to corrupt all justice and religion through the subserviency of sycophantic hirelings. The moral satire is no longer abstract and general, but pointedly and bitterly personal. Nor is it easy to believe that the terrible earnestness of this invective is due to merely dramatic feelings, that it is Aman and Aman alone that has roused the fire of indignation in the author's breast. Surely it is not evil counsellors in general, it is not the wicked Aman in particular, that the writer has in mind, but some nearer and more immediately important individual who has earned his dearest hate. When Ambition, reviewing the condition to which the arrogance of the great lord has reduced the country, remarks « wherefore yf warre should chaunce, eyther wyth Scotland or Fraunce, Thys geare woulde not goe ryght, » we feel that the allusion is no mere picturesque anachronism, but that the writer was concerned with some « traitoure » other than the Macedonian descendant of Agag. Who then was the great lord that thus roused the wrathful indignation of the anonymous poet ?

So long ago as 1870 Grosart wrote in the Introduction to his reprint of the piece, « Those who have read the 'History' of Froude will have no difficulty in recognising the complaints of the people against Henry VIII and his 'ministers' ». One may even go further than this and say that to no « minister » are the allusions in the piece more applicable than to Wolsey. Should anyone be inclined to doubt this, let him turn to such satirical works, either avowedly directed against the great Cardinal or else containing recognisable allusions, as William Roy's *Read me and be not wroth* and Skelton's *Why come ye not to Court ?* A certain number of specific allusions and parallels are pointed out in the notes. Perhaps the most striking is that to ll. 411-416 describing Aman's bearing towards the lawyers ; it is from *Why Come ye not to Court ?* (l. 311, etc.) and may be quoted here :

Juges of the kynges lawes,
 He countys them foles and dawes ;
 In the Chauncery where he syttes,
 But suche as he admyttes
 None so hardy to speke ;
 He sayth, thou huddypeke,
 Thy lernynge is to lewde,
 Thy tonge is nat well thewde,
 To seke before our grace ;
 And in the Checker he them cheks ;
 In the Ster Chambre he noddis and beks,
 And bereth him there so stowte,
 That no man dare rowte,
 Duke, erle, baron, nor lorde,
 But to his sentence must accorde¹⁾

If Aman is indeed Wolsey, it follows that the play was written before 1530, for I think we must suppose the satire to be directed against abuses actually existent at the time of writing, in which case the subsequent account of the fall of Aman « cannot be take or layed But as a prophesie ». On the other hand it is pretty clear that the allusions refer to a period when Wolsey had already entered upon his policy of the suppression of the monasteries and the alleged appropriation of ecclesiastical property. The bull for the suppression of the smaller houses was obtained in 1524, which therefore may be taken as an upward limit. The fact that no definite allusion is made to the divorce proceedings might be taken to fix the date as not later than 1527, towards the end of which year they became matter of general knowledge. But it must be remembered that it is particularly against the Queen that Aman's policy is directed, and it is not impossible that it was the belief that Wolsey was instrumental in directing Henry's mood against the unfortunate Catharine, that may have suggested to the author the biblical groundwork of his satire. If we identify Aman with Wolsey we shall then be justified in supposing that the piece was composed at some date between say 1525 and 1529 inclusive.

¹⁾ I may mention that Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments* (ed. Townsend IV, 657, reports a play containing matter against Wolsey as early as c. 1525. But see Creizenach, *Gesch. des Neu. Dra.* III, 514.

This leads us on to the second point, namely the authorship. Of this Professor Bang writes : « the author must be a member of the political and literary school or party of Skelton, *perhaps* Skelton himself » ¹⁾. Skelton, we may take it, turned against his former patron Wolsey some time between 1520 and 1523, and as he did not die till 1529, there is nothing impossible in his having written *Queen Hester* in the course of the four or five years during which we have assumed its composition to lie. Nor is there, so far as I can judge, anything in the linguistic or dramatic characteristics of the piece to make this an improbable date or Skelton's an improbable authorship, though I cannot, for my own part, trace any distinct metrical or stylistic similarity that could be advanced in support of the attribution. Another obvious possibility is that the piece was from the pen of the poetical pamphleteer William Roy, a friar observant of the Franciscan house at Greenwich who acted as Tyndale's secretary when engaged on his version of the New Testament at Cologne and Worms. There appears to me, however, to be a distinct difference in the poetic styles of *Read me and be not wroth* and *Queen Hester*, even where the metrical arrangement is closely similar, if not identical. Having put forward these suggestions in a conjectural and tentative way, I am content to leave them to the reader's discretion, without binding myself to the acceptance of any.

I must add a word or two concerning such suggestions regarding the authorship of the play as have been made in the past. Fleay has various hazardous remarks concerning the piece. He had however, by his own showing, only seen the extracts, amounting to some sixty lines, given in Collier's *History of Dramatic Poetry*, though he wrote, of course, long after the reprints of both Collier and Grosart had appeared. In his *History of the Stage* (p. 66) he gives the date of composition as after the 4th of December 1561 on the ground of the mention of « the third year of our reign » (l. 1153; see note). But this is a point which might easily have been introduced in preparing

¹⁾ [Whether Skelton himself may or may not have written *Queen Hester* is a question which it will always be difficult to settle, with any degree of certainty, from mere internal evidence. At any rate I beg to state that I consider it as of secondary importance : *König ist die Chronologie*. — W. B.]

the play for press, and the topical allusions are not suited to so late a date. He proceeds to state that the piece « is beyond doubt a play acted by the Chapel children publicly by way of retaliation for their inhibition at court in 1560 ». The identification of the piece as belonging to the Children of the Chapel Royal rests of course on l. 860 (see note) and is altogether without weight. Fleay proceeds « It is also noticeable as the very latest Scriptural Morality extant that was acted on the English stage, having been performed in 1594 by Hunsdon's men under the name of Hester and Ahasuerus. But at this date it had no doubt been greatly modified ». This is in the first place not strictly accurate. The play « heaster & asheweros » appears in Henslowe's accounts as having been performed on June 3 and 10, 1594, at Newington, but at that date the Admiral's and Chamberlain's (Hunsdon's) men were acting in conjunction. Without denying the abstract possibility, I can see no more reason to identify the old *Queen Hester* with Henslowe's play than with the piece on the same subject printed in Kirkman's collection *The Wits* in 1672. This last being happily extant may be seen to bear no relation whatever to the early play beyond a community of source ¹⁾. Lastly, in his *Biographical Chronicle* (II, p. 295), Fleay conjectures that the piece is by the same hand as *Misogonus*, and that hand he rather gratuitously supposes, for reasons detailed in his *History*, but into which it is unnecessary to enter here, to have been that of Richard Edwards, the author of *Damon and Pythias*. This would of course necessitate a date of composition not much anterior to that of publication, a supposition of which I have already pointed out the improbability. I am also surprised at any one supposing *Queen Hester* and *Misogonus* to be from the same pen after reading even the extracts given by Collier. The impossibility becomes still more obvious if we compare one of the reprints of the former with

¹⁾ It will be found reprinted at the end of the Introduction. There was also a play on the subject which was a favorite one with the English players in Germany. Numerous performances are recorded, the earliest being at Dresden, July 3, 1626. The text is also preserved and is reprinted in Tittmann's collection. It appears to be wholly independent of the present piece, but experts are agreed in referring it to an English original (cf. Herz. *Englische Schauspieler*, p. 111). Henslowe's play is far more likely to have been that original (if it existed) than the old interlude.

the full text of the latter first printed in Brandl's *Quellen*. The author of *Misogonus* has a vastly greater command both over his metrical medium and over dramatic realisation than has the writer of the *Godly Queen*.

The only other suggestion concerning the authorship of the present play, of which I am aware, was made by Mrs. Stopes in the *Athenæum* (1900, I, 538). At the end of a long article attempting to show that the play of *Jacob and Esau* was written for the Chapel Children by their Master, William Hunnis, the writer advances the view that *Queen Hester* may have been the work of the same author. The suggestion rests on the purely chimerical connection of the piece with the Chapel Royal originally supposed by Collier, and after a comparison of the two plays I am unable to endorse the view that they were written by the same hand or even that they date from the same period. Throughout I feel that in *Queen Hester* we have work belonging to a poetic and dramatic tradition considerably anterior to that illustrated by the plays, which, like *Jacob and Esau*, *Misogonus* and *Damon and Pythias*, may reasonably be referred to the fifties or sixties.

It remains to be mentioned that there are extant several Latin plays on the subject, for details of which I may refer the reader to Creizenach's *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* (see *Register* by Otto, s. v. *Esther*). They appear all to be subsequent to the date we have supposed for the English piece.

In conclusion it is my pleasant duty to record my indebtedness to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire for generously allowing me the use of the precious original. I also wish to acknowledge the courtesy with which my application was met by the late Mr S. A. Strong, librarian to His Grace. To my friend Dr Jenkinson my thanks, in this connection, are likewise due.

Readers are requested to correct the following errors in the text :

191 (side note). There should be a period (.) after *maydens*.

670 The stop at the end of this line should be a period (.).

1153 *this*. The *s* has been inadvertently printed the wrong way up.

Also in the notes :

93. For *Quod* read *Quoq*.

693. For mispsint read misprint.

p. 56. For 583 read 683.

p. 58. Insert « 880. *besech*. The *b* is broken in such a way as to resemble a *v*. »

I subjoin a list of misprints in the original, omitting those mentioned in the notes, and ignoring mere errors of punctuation. I should say here that it is quite impossible to distinguish in the original between a turned *n* and a *u* or *vice versa*. No doubt the frequent apparent confusion between *n* and *u* is due to this cause.

3. learniug
134. vdiuersall
147. captitiuitie
213. maydeus
312. poorall
315. streugth
353. soouest
373. goood
374. wondl
390. Adnlation
395. flatteres (flatterers)
397. byorder substnacial
422. maeueyle (marueyle)
452. Why
489. thynges (thynges)
491. fonnde
520. deulde (deuide)
550. Thē (The)
556. Sathau
581 (side note). aud
582. considartion
596. dectractions
622. uo
656. wheare (were)
660. afole
663. well (will)
become

671. whyse (wise)
715. wisdme
device (deuice)
718. uone
719. gooddes (goodnes)
720. ther fore
722. plasure
736. sub dew
745. sufferannce
802. Hardardy
should
858. Aud
888. exauisite (exquisite)
902. espieciall
931. excede
953. oftheir
966. noman
1002. shalbe bestow
1009. snffer
1083. suppl ycation
1105. graee
1120. in constante
1129. in fecteth (infected)
1156. conteute
1169. sernantes

The following dramatic trifle on the story of Esther is found in a collection called *The Wits* published by Francis Kirkman some years after the Restoration. The first part, containing drolls derived from the most popular plays of the first half of the seventeenth century, was printed in 1672 in octavo. In 1673 there appeared in quarto a further collection including the present piece, and this was appended later on in the same year to the octavo volume. This second part consists of a number of short dramatic sketches, for the most part, according to Kirkman's preface, the work of Robert Cox.

King *Ahasuerus* and Queen *ESTHER*.

The Actors Names.

King.

Queene.

Haman.

A Messenger.

Enter King and Queen.

Ki. **W**Hat would my Queen, what would you have of me?
Ask freely, and I'll give it unto thee:
Ask half my Kingdom, 'tis at thy command;
For who is it my power that dares withstand?

Queen. Then this, my King, is all; I humbly pray
That you and *Haman* will come here this day,
Unto a Feast that *Esther* will prepare,
Then to my King my grief I shall declare.

King. Call *Haman* forth: The Queen doth us invite
Part of a Banquet to partake this Night. *Enter Haman.*

Therefore be sure you fail not to be there ;
 Me-thinks I long to taste of *Esther's* Cheer. [*Exeunt.*]

Haman solus. Thus do all seek to purchase my regard ;
 And from my hand receive their due reward :
 Yet *Mordecai* (proud Fool) he wont obey,
 Derides his power, though *Haman* bears the sway.
 Therefore I'll not be quiet till I see
 Proud *Mordecai* exalted on a Tree.
 I'll to the King, who will not me deny,
 Then raise a Gallows fifty Cubits high.

Enter King and Queen.

King. Now speak, my Queen, what is't of me you crave ?
 Ask freely, and I swear that you shall have
 Your full demand, I will resign
 Up half this Kingdom, if you will, 'tis thine.

Queen. It is my Life (great Sir) that I do crave,
 And that my Peoples Lives you also save.
 Had we been sold for Slaves, I'd held my Tongue,
 And patiently would have endur'd the wrong.
 But to be threatned every day with Death
 Is worse then Death it self

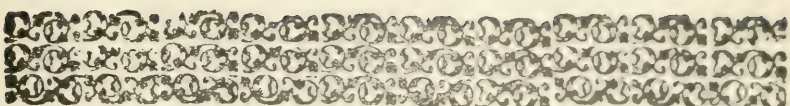
King. Who is the Man ? I'll make him ever rue,
 Who durst attempt such cruel things to do :
 For as I'm King, I'm bound to do you good ;
 And in your just defence I'll spend my Blood.

Queen. *Haman's* the Man, who in a little space
 Threatens Destruction to the *Jewish* Race :
 Oh, wicked man, he don't deserve to live,
 The softest heart can him no pity give.

Enter Messenger.

Mess. Most mighty King, by *Hamans* House hard by
 There stands a Gallows fifty Cubits high,
 Made for to Hang poor *Mordecai* the *Jew*,
 Who ever has been faithful unto you.

King. Hang him thereon, let this Recorded be
 To future Ages, as an Act from me.
 Thus let imperious *Haman* be repaid,
 And fall i' th'snares which he for others laid. [*Exeunt.*]



A newe enterlude

Drawen oute of the holy scripture
of godly queene Hester, verye necessary
newly made and imprinted, this pre
sent yere. M.D.LXJ.

Com nere vertuous matrons & womē kind
Here may ye learne of Hesters duty,
In all comelines of vertue you shal finde
How to behaue your selues in humilitie.

The names of the players.

The prologue	Wyde.
King Alluer?	Adulation.
iii. gentlemen	Ambition.
Manan.	Hardy dardy.
Har dochens	A Jewe.
Hester.	Arbona.
Pursueuant.	Scriba.

¶ The enterlude of the vertuous

and godly Queene Hester.

The prologue.

D

Iuers Philosophers auncient and sage,
Their clargy and cunnyng to put in practise
Oft haue disputed by learning and language

To whome greatest honour men ought to demise

5 Or for what cause, hie reuerence shoulde aryse,
And amonges manye, some were there doubtlesse,
That concluded honour due vnto ryches

Some also to noble bloude, and high parayge
Affirmed honour dewly to pertayne

10 And some to policie and wysedome sage
And some to power and superiall raighe,
Eche man his reason sayde in certayne
Ouer this some said, that vertuous demenoure
To bee excellent, and of moste honour.

¶ The kyng sitting in a chaire speaketh to his counsell.

15 **O**F these my lordes we woulde be glad to here,
Which is most worthy honoure to attayne
By your high reasons we thynke it maye appeare,
To speake therefore we praye you, your sentences plaine
And as ye determine, so shall wee certaine,
20 Aduaunce to honoure, and to promotion applye
Alwayes the best, and that bee most worthy.

Primus generosus.

Most drad soueraigne kinge Assuerus to your doughty
(weyghty and sured,
Of riches power, wisdom, vertue or noble bloude
Vvhich is most soueraigne, and of highest honour

The fir
getlem

A.ii.

Me

25 Me seames as vertue none can be so good,
 Not ryches nor power, wisdom nor gentill bludde.
 For wher vertue fayleth, the other be not suer,
 But full vnstable, and longe cannot indure.

who so wyll laboure storyes to peruse
 30 And them with dyligence, often will rede
 May see and perceue, how vice dyd confuse,
 Many noble princes whiche were in dede,
 Of such magnificence, that we not nede
 To doubt of theyre riches, power and wisdom,
 35 And yet for lacke of vertue, vice them ouer came.

Secundus Generosus.

Nabuchodonozor, Senacherib, and Salmanasar,
 Nero Dyoclisian Maxentius also,
 All these prynces of hye honoure were,
 Of ryches, power and wysdome allso
 40 Of noble bloode, yet these and many mo,
 For lacke of vertue, to vice dyd fall,
 To theyre owne distruction & theyre subiectes all.

Tertius Generosus.

But then as me semeth, yt were expedyent,
 Amonge all vertues apperteyninge to a prince,
 45 That same to knowe by sume reason vrgente,
 which is so necessary to the prouince,
 That wythout yt in no wyse he can conuince,
 Neyther synne nor synners that vniustly deale,
 Nor in good order kepe his common weale,

Primus Generosus.

50 In myne opynion that is Iustice
 A vertu as excellent as may be.
 For all thinges it orderith in such wyse,

That

That where it is, is peace and tranquillitie,
 Good order, hygh honour, wealth and plentye,
 55 And where it fayleth in the prince or kynge,
 The common weale decayeth withoute tariyng

Secundus Generosus.

Besyde Iustice there muste bee diligence,
 In hys owne personne that same to put in vre,
 Or els some tyme suche coloured sentence
 60 Vnder cloke of Iustice ye maye be sure
 Craftely shall procede from them that haue the cure
 which in processe, may brynge to downfall,
 The kynge, hys realme & hys subiectes all.

The iudgement of Salamon, in his owne person,
 65 Betwene two women of lyuinge vnhaste,
 So feared Israell that vtterlye noone
 Durste once rebell, but they thought it waste
 In anye wyse to attempt eyther fyrst or laste
 Any thyng of displeasure to hys maiestye royall
 70 Fearyng hys wysedome and Iustice so equall.

Tertius Generosus.

If by hys licutenante had been done the same,
 Hys honoure shoulde neuer haue spronge so farre
 Nor so much renowned by noble fame,
 As it is now & that both here & there
 75 Nor yet hys subiectes to such awe and feare,
 He coulde haue dryuen by no meanes at all
 As he dyd by hys iustice personall

And ouer thys many a noble man,
 At the prynces wyll and commaundymente,
 80 To employe iustice, dyd the best they can
 And yet the commons vnneth coulde be content
 And why? for in their mynde they thyncke verament

A.iii. That

That either for riches & honour Iustis will doe
 And he onely, for the zeale that to Iustis he hath to
 85 Wherefore noble prince, if in youre owne person will ye
 Employe Iustis the more youre honour shallbe

Kyng Assewerus

My lordes we thanke you for youre counsell
 As ye haue sayed, so thinke we verely
 That Iustis mainteneth y^e common weale,
 90 And namely y^e prince muste nedes him selfe applye,
 Vnto the same, or els vtterly
 Shall folowe decay by warre or els death,
 Quoq3, si princeps malus populus coruet.

And ouer this if that his lieutenaunt,
 95 Shal happen to square from trueth and iustice,
 Albeit his faire wordes and good semblaunt,
 The prince must nedes be circumspect and wise,
 That no ambicion nor couetise
 Through great welth and riches inordinat
 100 Doe erect his corage, for to play checkmate
 For though it be as well as it may neede,
 It shall be thought nay, I assure you in dede
 Sir what is your name and progeny ?

Aman.

One of
 y^e gētyll
 mē must
 answeere
 whyche
 you will

I am Aman sonne of Amadathy,
 Of the stocke of Agag borne lyniallye,

Assuerus.

your learnyng and reason pleaseth vs well
 And ye seeme to be of discretion
 we beare ye therfore our fauour and zeale
 So that withoute meanes of intercession

110 we make you our chaunceloure, take hede to this lesson.

See

See ye doe iustice and trueth euer approue
Or to your destruction, we shall you soone remoue

Aman

My duty is more nowe then euer it was,
Truly to serue youre moste noble grace,
115 Both nyghte & day, here and in euery place.

Assewerus

(et exeat)

My lordes as nowe, thus standes the case,
we are comfortles, for lacke of a Queene,
which shoulde be our ioye, & chefe solace,
And to say truth, it hath not been oft seene,
120 But the prince with a princes matched hath beene
Leaste defaulte of issue shoulde be, whiche God defende
therfore youre counsellis firste had, to marry we do intēd

Primus generosns.

Then let your officers peruse this realme,
And of fayre maidens that be virgins pure,
125 Of most goodly personages that may be sene
Gather a great number, that we may make reporte
Vnto your grace, then may ye be sure
To chose the beste, when ye haue them seene
And that is fittest to be your quene.

Assewerus

130 Call to vs Aman our trusty chaunceler.

Aman.

If it please your grace I am here,

Assuerus.

Aman this is the counsel of my lordes all,
That our officers in hast we shoulde sende
To pervse this region vdiuersall
135 From the begynnyng vnto the ende
To seke faire maidens, where so thei may be kende

Here en
trith A-
mā will
māy mē
awaiting
on hym.

And

- Here the kyng en tryth the trauers & aman go eth out.
- And of most goodly personages that maye be sene
 To the intent among them we may chose a quene
 This is our minde, more to speake it shal not nede,
 In all that ye may, see it bee done in dede.
- ¶ Here entreth Mardocheus and a maiden with him.
 I am Mardocheus borne in Ierusalem,
 The sonne of Iaire, and of the stocke of Beniamy
 By Nabuchodonosor brought into this realme
 when he did subdue our kyng Iechony
- 145 And translated the Iewes by conquest and victorie
 Both I and other in number many one
 were brought in captitiuitie, into the realme of Babilon
- I haue here a maiden of the same nacion
 My brothers doughter named Edissa
- 150 But Hester is her common denomination
 And by that well knowen, nam a deo missa
 God graunt her grace, that perseuer she maye,
 In wisdom and womanhead faythfull to bee
 Her espouse to loue in perfecte amitie.
- 155 So is it nowe oure kyng Assuerus,
 Dyuers Purseuauntes in great haste hathe sente,
 Ouer all hys realme in these parties nere vs,
 To seeke faire maidens is his entent
 To chose amonge theym one conueniente,
- 160 To bee his quene and Lady Soueraigne,
 In loue and honour with him for to raigne.
- And for as muche doughter Hester that you
 Amonge other are appoynted for one,
 I thyncke it accordynge therefore nowe,

165 To giue you mine aduise and instruction,
 Attende ye therfore without interruption
 And by faithfull mind, and stedfast memorye
 That I shall saye, learne it diligentlye.

Hester.

Noble Mardocheus my father moste kynde,
 170 To that ye shall saye I wyll applye my mynde.

Mardocheus.

Than yf the kinge chose you to his queene
 It is of hys goodnes, bountie and grace
 And for none youre merites, the truthe to bee seene
 Therefore to hym repaye muste you needes obedience
 175 Trew loue and kyndnes, aboue personnes all
 Not forged nor fayned, but with affection cordiall.

Breake not the course that queenes haue hadde
 In this noble region most part of all,
 They haue aye bene good, and none of theym badde,
 180 To their prince euer sure, iust and substanciall
 And good to the commons when they dyd call
 By mekenes for mercye, to temper the fyre
 Of rigors iustice in fume or in yre

Hester.

Thys counsell is perfecte and also so pure
 185 I graunt it therfore, and promyse you sure
 It is my whole mynde and hartye desyre
 That same to fulfyll, as reason shall requyre.

Purseuaunt.

I haue here of maydens a fayre companye
 Of comlye stature and goodly visage
 190 which to the king I thynke by and by
 For to present, and to hys counsell sage,
 For their promotion, wealth and marriage,

Here en-
 trith pur-
 suante
 with ma-
 nye may-
 dens

Saue before wyth Mardocheus the Iew,
I muste speake for Hester, that is so fayre of hew.

Mardocheus.

195 She is here redy, and doth attende,
The kynges commaundiment to fullfyll,
And at youre pleasure forth shall she wende,
wyth out resystance, and by her good wyll.

Pursyuaunt.

Then shall I brynge her the kynge vntyll.

200 Come on lady Hester, and followe me

Here A- To the kynge shall ye goe with youre cumpany.

Aman.

man me- Syr pursiuaunt haue ye these maydens broughte,
tythe thē For the kynge lyke as ye had in commaundement.
in y place

Pursyuaunte

yea syr and for them, farre haue I soughte,
205 Both in vyllage towne and tenemente,
I truste I haue done trew service and dylligente.

Aman

So are ye bounde by very dewty
Of youre allegeaunce and fydelytye,
Se that ye follow vs wyth youre hole cumpany.

Pursyuaunt.

210 As ye haue sayed so shall it be.

Aman.

Pleasyth it youre grace, accordynge your mynde
we haue made serche all youre regyon,
For goodly maydeus of nature fyne and kynde,
Thē thei And of them haue founde in myne opynyon
go to the A number ryght fayre and of complexion
kynge. So puer and of so fayre visage,
That they surmounte all other in personage.

Assuerus,

Assuerus.

Are they also of suche competent age
Of suche demeanour and grauitie,

220 That they be fyttē for oure mariage.

Aman.

Vppon a profe youre grace shall heare and see,
As well theyr wysedome as theyr beautye.

Assuerus.

Sertis they be fayre and goodly eche one,
And as it maye seme by theyr fyrst countenaunce
225 Both by looke and gesture, nature and complexion,
In theym shoulde be kyndnes, myrth, and dalyaunce
wysedome, sadnes, and in loue perseueraunce,
Constauncie knit wyth comlines, ioy to encrease
Vertue with good demenour, pleasure to put in presse.

230 But ye fayre damsell of the highest stature,

And of most ripe age, as shoulde seame
Of all this companye of most fynest nature.

Tell vs your linage, for as yet we deame,
your lookes be so lusty, and in loue so breme

235 If that your demenour hereafter be seme
To that accordyngē, ye shalbe our quene.

Hester.

Moste noble Prince as for my linage,
Nor yet my countrey, sertis I can not saye
My parentes dicessed in myne none age,

240 So that I neuer harde yet vnto thys daye
what coste or countrey, what lande or laye,

I was bred in, broughte forth or borne,
It is to me vnknownen, as aye hath bene beforne,

Notwithstandyng, I haue had foode and fostring

245 Of Mardocheus all my lyfe dayes,

B.ii. whome

whom I called father in my yonge age,
 And so intend to do eftsons and alwaies,
 whome for his frendshippe I haue good cause to prayse,
 Besechinge youre grace and that moste mekely,

250 To my sayd foster father good lorde for to be

Assewerus

Call in Mardocheus, that we may see his face.

Mardocheus.

I am here to attende vpon youre grace.

Assewerus

Mardocheus what call you, youre daughter.

Mardocheus.

If it please youre grace her name is Hester

255 Assuringe you, she is a virgin puer,

A pearle vndefiled and of conscience cleare

Sober, sad, ientill, meke and demure,

In learninge and litterature, profoundly seene,

In wisdome, eke semblante to Saba the Quene

260 Fytt for any prince to haue in marriage,

If his pleasure agree to her personage,

Assewerus.

ye say ryghte well, then we thynke it expedient,

Some what to proue by communication

Her lernynge and her language eloquent

265 And by some probleme of hys dubitation,

To knowe her aunswere and consultation

Howe saye you Hester haue you ought reade or seene

Of vertues that be best, and fittest for a queene.

Hester.

To speake before a king, it is no childes playe,

270 Therefore I aske pardon, of that I shall saye

Assuerus.

We pardone you what soeuer ye saye,
Hester.

- Then to bee bolde ryghte well I maye
No quene there is, but by marriage of a prince,
And vnder couert according to the lawe,
275 So that the iurisdiction of the whole prouince,
To the kynge pertaineth this is the trewe sawe
Albeit, sometyme more for loue than for awe
The king is content to bee counselled by the queene,
In many sundrye causes, as ofte hath been seene,
280 which sentence is sure and grounded with reason,
But yet not wythstandynge this is not all
But eftsons it may chaunce at sundrye season
The kynge wyth hys counsell most parte of all
From this realme to be absente, when warre doth call.
285 Then the Quenes wysdome, sadly muste deale,
By her greate vertue, to rewle the common weale.

- Wherefore as many vertues be there muste,
Euen in the Quene as in the prynce,
For feare lest in warre, some treason vniust,
290 The realme shoulde subdewe, and falsely conuince.
The Quene muste sauegarde all the hole prouince,
And so as muche goodnes aye muste be seene,
As in the kynge to be in the Quene,
And how many vertues longe to a kynge,
295 Lyke vnto youre grace I cannot make recknynge.

Assewerus.

Then I doute not, but the wysdome of vs two
Knytte both to gether in parfytte charyte
All thynges in thys realme shall cumpas so,

By

By truth and Iustice, law and equitye,

300 That we shall quenche all vice and deformitie
Hester.

Then at my beginning I beseche youre grace

That I may shew my mynd, whyle I haue time & space
Assuerus.

Speake at your libertie, I wyll heare it gladlye.

Hester.

Then I wyl be playne, for veritie hath no pere

305 And for a pryncipall of thys my tale,

And eke his subiectes both greate and smale,

In honoure and wealth : yea, all the prouince,

So riche and so stronge, that they maye conuince

All their enemyes where so euer they dwell,

310 That woulde inuade, resiste, or rebell,

And where goddes seruyce and hospitalitie

Doeth decaye, and almes to the poorall,

There maye be wealth in places two or three

But I assure you the most part in generall,

315 Neither haue meate nor money, nor strength substantial

Fytte to doe you seruice, when ye haue nede

whiche is no good order, me thynkes in very dede

Let God alwaye therfore haue hys parte

And the poore fedde by hospitalitie

320 Eche man his measure, be it pynte or quarte,

And no man to muche, for that is great ieoberdie,

A meane to lose all, as I doe feare me,

For when all is gathered to gether on a heape

It may sone be conueyed cariage is good cheape,

325 Thys I speake with trew heart and mynde,

Besechinge

Besechyng your grace to take it in good kynde.

Assuerus.

Of these matters another tyme moore at large,

We shall speake, and of dyuers other mo.

Aman, see our seruantes doe accomlishe their charge,

330 To awayte vpon oure Queene, and that also

In haste vnto oure waredrobe see ye goe,

For riche apparell of golde and pall

As well for her selfe, as for her ladyes all,

Aman.

Than if it please you to licence the Queene,

335 As to her pleasure awhyle shall beseeme

Assuerus.

And we for a season thys busynesse wyll cease,

And oure selfe repose for our pleasure and ease.

¶ Here entreth Pride syngynge

poorely arayed.

To men that be heuy, & wold faine be mery

Though they feelee smarte :

340 Oft châce such rekning, y with their mouth thei sing,

Though thei wepe in their hart.

somtime thei daũce, with mery coũtenaũce,

when they had leuer slepe :

Eke thei laugh & grin, whē by this sunne I wyn

345 In the heart they wepe.

who so will accord, with this double world

Muste vse suche artes :

Outwardly kinde, in his heart a fende,

A knaue in two partes.

350 Outward honestie, inward infidelitie.

Bothe rydes on a mule :

In peace he is bolde, but in war he is colde,

That

Here de-
partith y
queene &
Aman &
all y mai
dens.

That sooquest wyll recoyle.

Manye bee that profers, but fewe that offers,
 355 Deuoutelye in theyr hearte :

They saye they can doe all, but when neede doeth befall,
 They begynne to starte.

He that is double, loues alway trouble,
 And at no tyme wyll cease :
 360 And yet he wyll not fight, by daye nor yet by nyghte,
 In warre nor in peace.

But such men by battail, may get corne and cattell
 Bullyon and plate :
 And yf they once get it, let vs no moore craue it,
 365 By GOD we comme to late.
 Eyther to begge or borowe, except shame or sorowe,
 Dyspleasure and hate.

Syrs my name is pryde, but I haue layde asyde,
 All my goodlye araye :
 370 ye wyne I lye, there is a cause why,
 That I goe not gaye.

I tell you at a worde, Aman that newe lorde,
 Hathe bought vp all good clothe,
 And hath as many gownes, as would serue ten townes
 375 Be ye neuer so lothe :
 And any manne in the towne, doe by him a good gowne,
 He is verrye wrothe.

And wyll hym straye tell, the statute of apparell,
 Shall teache hym good :
 380 wherefore by thys daye, I dare not goe gaye
 Threde bare is my hoode.

Pryde was wonte to be, a man of iolytye,
 Of hye countenaunce and face :
 And since Aman raygned, no man hym retayned,

Almost

385 Allmoste in any place.

For Aman that elfe, woulde no man but hym selfe,
Shoulde be proude in dede.

For as men say, all pryde he taketh away,
well, God sende him good spede.

Adulation.

390 And as for Adulation, must chaunge his occupation
It is not worth a pease.

Pryde.

why so ?

Adulation.

For my lorde Aman, doeth al that he can
I assure you without doubt :

395 To take vp al flatteres, & al crafty clatterers
That dwell fourtye myle aboute.

Pryde.

yea but the lawe shal, byorder substnacial,
Punyshe all those :

Adulation.

yea, I wil tel you one thing, law now & flatteryng

400 Aye together gose.

Pryde.

why so ?

Adulation.

For al law est & west, & adulation in his chest
Aman hathe locked faste :

And by his crafti patterig, hath turned law into flatte-

405 So that fyrst and laste, (ring,

The cliant must pay, or the lawyer assaye

The lawe for to clatter :

And whē ye wene he saide right, I assure you by this

He doth not els but flatter. (light

C.i. Pride

410 Pride. why so ?

Adulation.

For yf Aman wynkes, the lawyers shrynckes,
And not dare saye yea nor naye.
And yf he speake the lawe, the other calles hym daw
No more then dare he say.

415 So that was law yisterday, is no lawe thys daye,
But flatteryng lasteth alway, ye may me beleue.

Pryde.

Dyuines ^ty do preache, me thynkes they should teache
And flatteryng reprove.

Adulation.

Syr they haue lefte prechyng, & take them to flatterige
420 Moste parte of them all.

Pryde.

I marueyle of that.

Adulation.

Do ye maeueyle ? mary I wyll you tell,
A cause substantiall.
when they preached, and the truthe teached,
425 Sume of them caughte a knocke,
And they ^ty should assisted, I wote not how they were
But they dyd nothyng but mocke. (brysted,
And that sawe they, and gate them away,
As faste as myghte be.
430 They solde theyr woll, and purchased a bull,
wyth a pluralyte.

And lefte predication, and toke adulation,
And what by mendation, and dispensation,
They gat the nomynation, of euery good benefyce.
435 So better by flatteryng, then by preachyng,
To wealthe they dyd aryse.

But

But yet ye muste beware.

Pryde.

where of ?

Adulation.

That they do not square, farre beyonde the marke

440 For yf yt be a good fee, Aman sayeth that longeth to me
Be yt benefyce or parke

If he espy to y^e prōotiō, he wyll streyt geue him a portiō
A lappe of a thowsande markes,

He shalbe purged cleane, he shall singe neither treble nor

445 Nor yet speake one worde. (meane,

Pride.

Is he well seene in adulation ?

Adulation.

He is wardē of y^e occupatiō, without all iestige boorde
And no man so hardy, but by hys auctorite,
The same to vse.

Here entryth Ambytion.

450 No, for yf he doe, he were better no,
Hys braynes he wyll confewse.

Pride.

Why who arte thou ?

Ambytion.

He that can tell how, Aman vseth to wurke.

Pride.

Is not Ambytion thy name ?

Ambytion.

455 yes for god y^e same, I was wonte to be a great clarke
But syn Aman bare rewle, neyther horse nor mule,
But ys as wyse as I

C.ii.

Adulation.

Adulation.

How so ?

Ambytion.

For all rewlars & lawes, were made by fooles & dawes

460 He sayeth verely.

Ordynances & foundation, without consyderation,

He sayeth were deuysed.

Therefore hys imagination, bringes all out of fashion

And so all is dysguised.

465 Sum tyme where was plenty, now y^e barnes be empti

And many men lackes bread.

And wher somtyme was meat, there now is none to get

But all be gone and dead.

Beggars now do banne, and crye out of Aman,

470 That euer he was borne.

They swere by the roode, he eatyth vp all their foode,

So that they gett no good, neyther euen nor morne.

And many that be pore, though not from doore to doore

A begginge they dyd goe :

475 yet had they releefe, bothe of breade and beefe,

And dryncke also.

And nowe the dore standes shet, and no man can we get,

To worcke neither to fyghte.

wherefore yf warre should chaunce, eyther wyth Scot-

480 Thys geare woulde not goe ryght. (land or Fraunce,

Adulation.

And where is all this become ?

Ambition.

As for y^e domin^o vobiscū, I dare say nothinge but mū,

Not tyll an other tyme.

Pryde.

All this is out of season, and nothing done by reason,

Nor

485 Nor yet by good ryme.

Adulation.

How say you ambition, haue ye not prouision, for to
get promotion, as ye were wonte to do ?

Ambition.

No by my holydame, for my lorde Aman
Handelles all thyng so,

490 That euery office and fee, what so euer it bee,

That maye bee sene and fonnde :

By his wit he wyl it featche, and or it fal he wil it catche
That neuer commeth to the grounde.

So that I repent, that euer I went,

495 Vnto the scoles :

For his large commission, maketh me Ambition
To dwell amonge fooles.

Pryde.

And is there no remedye ?

Adulation.

None that I can spye, whyle he doeth raygne.

Ambition.

500 Then lette vs make merye, euen tyll we dye.

And dryue pyne awaye :

Pryde.

I hearde once a Fryer, as trewe a lyer,

As anye in the countrey :

Hee preached veramente, that oure testamente,

505 Alwaye readye shoulde bee.

Adulation.

For at oure deathe, we shall lacke breathe,

And than fare well wee.

Ambition.

Then mayster Pryde, begynne thys tyde.

Let vs here youre fashion.

adulation.

510 and ye shall here nexte, euen the playne texte,
Of me adulation

Pryde.

Then by and by, ye shall heare playnely,
wythout impedimente,

The tenour of my wyll, if ye take heede therevntyll

515 This is my testament.

Al my presumptuous pryde, whether he goe or ryde,
Nowe or elles than :

My heart and corage, for power and language
I geue it vnto Aman.

520 Let him kepe of my pryde what he wil, the reste deulde,
amonge hys whole Garde :

and when they haue it all, what they wyll dooe withall,
aduyce them afterwarde.

If pryde haue a fall, let them be content withall

525 as I am nowe :

For as for Pryde, lasteth but a tyde,
I assure you.

If to it longe shame, let them a goddes name,
Take them bothe :

530 For as I feare mee, so muste it needes bee,
Bee they neuer so lothe.

Adulation.

and I adulation, of the same fashion,
at thys tyme present,

To recorde euerye man, geue vnto aman,

535 By thys my testament.

All my subteltie, & forged fydelite,
 To hym and hys espyes.
 I wot they wyll it vse, trew men to confesse,
 And that craftely.

540 And yf they do in dede, I pray god they may spede,
 Euen as honestly,
 As he that from steyleyng, goth to sent thomas watryng
 In his yong age.

So they from pytter pattour, may come to tytter totur
 545 Euen the same pylgrimage.

Ambition.

And I Ambytion, had a comission,
 By force of a bull,
 To gett what I could but not as I wolde,
 Neyther of lambe nor woll.

550 Thē bull nor the calfe, coulede please the one halfe,
 Of my feruente desire.

But euer I thought by god, there was I woulde haue
 when I was neuer the nere. (had

Therefore all my ambition, to gether in a comission,

555 Vnder my seale,
 I geue it to aman, to the intent that Sathau,
 Maye loue hym well :

That whyle he is here, he maye styll desyre,
 and yet neuer the nere : Sometyme to bee,

560 and when he goeth hence, he maye with him dispence,
 By a large facultye.

That for his sines seuen, or he come to heauen,
 wyth out bourde or game.

Sumtyme or tyde, he may for his pryde,

565 Suffer some shame.

Pride.

Now

Nowe by wades myll, euerye mans wyll
Is wonderouslye well :

Adulation.

And by my hollydome, I wene it be wysedome,
For folke often chat, howe men dye in estate,

570 But so shall not wee :

Ambition.

No by saint An, but yet my Lorde Aman,
Neuer the better shalbe :

Pryde.

No forse so god me saue, yf we our wyll myght haue
we woulde he shoulde neuer thee.

575 Nowe made is our testament, I praye you be content
Some myrthe to deuyse.

Adulation.

Let vs beginne with singynge, and conclude with drin-
It is the newe gyse : (kynge,

Ambition.

Thei de- Then let vs beginne a songe, that wyl last euen as long
part sing As hence to the tauerne dore.

Aman.

(Et exeunt.)

yng, and
Aman en
treth.

Moste noble prynce, and of highest wysedome
I do not doubte of youre considartion,

But that you know what I haue bene, eke what I am,
Bothe in wyll and woorde, and occupation,

585 Of assured thoughte without adulation,

And as glad to doe seruice vnto your grace
As euer I was to liue anye tyme or space.

And for the same great malice I do sustayne,
Both of your nobles and communaltie

590 To my greate greuaunce and merueylous payne,
And eke further, I feare the ieoperdye

Of my lyfe, goodes, credence and honestie,
 To cease their malyce, vnlesse you put in vre
 your power royall, I can not longe endure.

- 595 The sclaūderous reportes, the lyes y^e be made
 The fained dectracions and contumilious
 The rimes the railinges, so farre sette abroad
 Both payntyd and printyd in moste shamefull wyse
 And god to recorde all is but leasinges and lyes.
 600 was neuer made on man lyke as is on me
 Only for aplyment of law and equite.

- In so much that of late now in dede
 Before all the commins vpon myne and me,
 Moste dānable reportes ware sett a brode,
 605 To my dyshonour and shamefull villany,
 And all that were there of that cūpanye,
 As I myghte see by theyre countenaunce and voice,
 That same alowed and greatly dyd reioyce
 wherfore noble prince I beseche youre grace,
 610 Let me be remoued another to haue my place

Assuerus.

- Aman we harde wyth deliberation,
 Vttered and pronounsed by language cleane,
 A very elygante and prudente oracion
 Of you as euer to fore was seene
 615 By whose tenour we knowe what ye meane,
 And haue ye no doughte so shall we for you provide
 That youre enemies shall damage you on no syde.
 we knowe ryght well the wordes enuious to be
 One agaynste an other for fee and office
 620 But that to regarde in no wyse nede ye,
 As longe as ye obserue trueth and iustyce,
 From the which we woulde that in no wyse

ye shoulde degresse for if ye do in dede,
 youre owne distruction shortly ye shall brede,

625 But for youre comforte harke what I shall tell,
 And for more assistance in this that ye do feare,
 we make you lieutenaunte to rewle Israell,
 Take heare these robes see ye do them weare,
 Eke this golden wande in youre hande to beare,

630 A token of honour and of estate ryall,
 God sende you contynuaunce and well to do with all,
 Aman.

Noble prynce accordinge as I am bounde,
 I will do you service tyll deathe me confounde,
 Assuerus.

For a season we wyll to our solace
 Into our orcharde or some other place,
 Hardydardy.

Here the
 kynge en
 treth the
 traaverse
 & Hardy
 dardy en
 treth the
 place.

A prouerbe as men say a dogge hath a day,
 when so euer that it chaunce
 He that wyll drinke wine and hath neuer a vine,
 Muste sende or goe to fraunce.

And yf he do not, endure he cannot,
 He muste nedes shrynke,

Shrinke yea say that againe, for it is a greate paine,
 To be with out drynke.

In such case am I, I swere by goddes pety,

645 I lacke both drynke and meate.

But as I say, a dogge hath a day,
 For now I truste to get.

My tyme is come for to get some,
 If I be not lett.

650 It is the common worde Aman is a lorde.
 And Aman is of price,

And

And hath perdye all this cuntrie

At his rwele and deuice.

And I trust to be one of his yemanry,

655 To weare his bage and marke.

An office I wold beare and it noughte elles where,

But the keper of his parke.

Aman.

Me seames ye are not fyttē.

Hardy dardy.

ye wene I lacke wytte it may well be so,

660 yet afole when it doth happe may somtyme chaunce to
when wyse men wyll not mell. (stoppe a gappe)

Aman.

Fooles largely will bourde and tell al theyr thought.

Hardy dardy.

And wyse men well not speke one worde till all become

Aman. (to nought)

Fooles will tell all and that trobleth sore,

Hardy dardy.

665 And wyse men will say nought at al till al be gone & more

Aman.

Fooles to Idlenes all wayes be preste.

Hardy dardy.

And wyse men vse such busines it were better they

Aman. (were at rest)

Fooles let the reformation, of common wele.

Hardy dardy.

And wyse men be so full of imaginacion,

670 they wot not how they deale.

Aman.

whyse men wolde do ryght,

And foles say nay.

Hardydardy.

And fooles be fayne to fyght when wise men rûne away
Aman.

Fooles spend all tyll they haue nought

Hardydardy.

675 And wise men carry all tyll they dare no more craue.

Aman.

ye are a foole ye do but clatter.

Hardydardye.

Many go to scole tyll they can flatter

Aman.

Leaue youre clatter, leste ye cume tardy.

Hardydardy.

It makes no matter for my name is Hardydardy

Aman.

680 Is youre name Hardydardy.

Hardydardy.

yea ^ty is it verily, I wold if it ples^e ye,

Be one of your yomanrie.

Aman.

As for that let it passe we take you for our solace.

And mirthe sumtime to ken.

Hardydardy.

685 I wene by goddes grace one foole in a place,

Doth well amonge wise men

ye must nedes laughe amonge & if a foole singe a songe.

I holde you than a grote.

Some wise man muste be fayn sumtime to take ^ey paine

690 To do on a fooles cote.

And than perchaunce it is not redie.

Aman.

well

well ye can speake merely wherwith I am contente
 Sirs tarrie you a seassone se that farre ye not walke,
 I will to the kinge secretly to talke.

695 Moste victorius prince & of higheste honour
 Primate of the worlde and president chefe,
 By whose wisdomme and pollityke demeanoure,
 All the worlde at this day takes relefe,
 Both kynge page and lorde yea in sentence brefe,

700 No realme nor region able were to stande,
 Onles your counsell with them be at hande.

 who compelleth lordes to mainteine their nobillite,
 who lerneth knyghtes theyr feates marciall.

Or who religion subdewith to humilite,

705 who haue craftes and laborers the worlde ouer all,
 In ciuill cytie or village ryall.

Compelleth eche man to hys order and place,
 But only the wisdomme and polyce of your grace,

 your strength defendith your wisdomme saueth all,

710 youre plentye releuith the almoste euery man
 Such is your honour and order ryall
 That none other counsell at this day canne,
 Reache nor attaine to know how or whan,
 Lyke good order or honorable guise,

715 As you by wisdomme dayly do device,

 So is it your grace from very base parage,
 And poore estate me to hye honour haue brought,
 For uone my vertues nor wisdomme sage,
 But onely youre gooddes haue made me of nought.

720 God is mi iudge it is ther fore mi thoughte,
 And dayly study aboute all worldly treasure
 That thing to do, that is your wealth and plasure.

 And yf it please your grace therfore to here,

- One thyng as I shall make rehersall,
 725 whan I haue saide I thinke it shall apeare,
 To your pleasure and proffitte substanciall,
 And to be playne this is it fyrste of all.
 A greate number of Iewes with in this realm do dwell
 A people not goode, nor for youre common weale,
 730 They be dispersed ouer all youre prouince,
 with in them selfe dwellyng, deseuered from our nation,
 By theyr new lawes they think to conuince,
 And eke draw vnto theyr conuersation,
 And vnto theyr ceremonyes and faction
 735 Of our people as many as may be,
 Intendyng to sub dew all gentilite,
 More ouer the preceptes of your law,
 They refuse and haue in great contempte
 They wyll in no wise liue vnder awe,
 740 Of any prince but they wil be exempte,
 wherby good order may sone be interempte,
 And occasion is as I do feare me
 your subiectes to rebell in hope of lyke liberte.
 And youre grace knoweth it is expediente,
 745 Theyre mallyce to increace thus by sufferannce,
 For by that may chaunce greate inconuenience,
 And to all your realme importune perturbaunce,
 For theyre possessions be of substaunce
 So greate and so large that I feare at the length,
 750 They wyll attempte to subdewe you by strengthe.
 My counsell therfore to auoide ieoperdy,
 If that your grace by your power ryall,
 Shall geue sentence and plainly decree,
 To slea these Iewes in your realme ouer all,
 755 None to escape let your sentence be generall,

ye shall by that wyne to say I dare be holde,
To your treasure .x. thousande pound of golde,

Assuerus.

My lorde Aman we haue harde ryght well,
All your oration which is so elegante,

760 And so well towched that nedes we muste fele,
And perceyue your minde your wordes be so pregnante,
And as touchinge the Iewes which be so valiaunte,
Both of goodes and greate pocession,
we do agree vnto theyre suppression.

765 we ryghte well perceiue that vnto them drawe,
Much of our people and ientile nation,
which to our honour and also to our lawe
Muste nedes be a greate derogation,
A meane to bringe all out of facion

770 To quenche them therefore we be contented well,
In token wherof holde here a ringe and seale.

Aman.

Of your sentence there shall not lacke one clause,
But all shall be done and that without pause,
The Pursiuauntes call to vs shortely.

Pursyuauntes.

775 If it lyke you we are here.

Aman.

These letters deuised we wolde ye shoulde aplye,
To bere furth and that dyligently,
with as much haste as may be,
To the rewlars of euery towne and citie,

780 Streightly commaunding them all that they maye
The same to execute at their prefixed day.

Purseuaunt.

To his hye pleasure we shall make vs preste.

And

And tyll it bee done, we wyll take no reste,

Aman.

We be glad we haue attained our purpose,

785 I trust it shall abate the hie corage

Of Mardocheus, and eke all those

That be hys clyantes brynge to repentaunce :

Hardydardye.

Mary syr they be lyke to take penaunce,

It woulde greue any man yonge or olde of age

790 without his head to goe on pylgrimage

Aman.

Thei haue deserued it, and they shall haue it,

It is for theym accordynge :

Hardydardye.

If I shoulde bewray, that some men doe saye,

It were a mad bourdyng.

Aman.

795 Say what ye lyste.

Hardydardy.

So woulde I, yf wiste ye wolde not angrye

Aman.

ye haue libertie, as ye pleased be,

To stande or tumble :

Hardydardy.

Men say in dede, ye shall lose your head,

800 And that woulde make you stumble.

Aman.

why so ?

Hardardy.

Thei say it is conuenient, should be fulfilled y^e testament
Of Ambition, Adulation and Pride :

They gaue you all their pryde and flatteryng,

and

And after that saint thomas watring there to rest a tide

805 And men thynke at hoste, with them was the holy
 Theyre testament was made so holily, (ghoste,
 wherfore all that they sayed cannot be take or sayed,
 But as a prophesie.

Aman.

well ye are verely, disposed merely,

810 Now for to talke.

And I am suerly minded secretely,

For my solace to walke.

Et exeat.

Here entreth a Iew and speaketh.

O lorde what a thinge is crudelite,
 whan to it is annexed couetous and Pride,

815 It distroyeth both towne and contrey

Eke all regions on euery syde,

All is for him to lyttell his mouthe is so wide,

His rigour rauenuous spares not to spill,

Both man and chylde to haue his owne will :

820 This rauenuous wolfe Aman I do meane,

That hath perswaded the kynge to kill and slea,

And from all this prouince to auoid cleane,

All men and women and children that be,

Iewes borne and of the Iewes consanguinite,

825 The precept is set vp men to remember

And it shalbe executed the .xiii. day of December,

Alas that euer shoulde fortune suche rage,

From so cankered a caytyfe to procede,

It is his mynde my head I ley to gage,

830 All those to sley, I assure you in deede

That wyll not by flattery hys presumptions fede,

He woulde be glorified aboue creatures all,

And yet I trust as Lucifer depe he shal fal.

Another Iewe.

E.i.

The

The Mantuans thought it a greate punishmente,
 835 To be proscribed from theyre goodes and lande,
 As reciteth Virgill that Poet eloquente,
 Much more is our payne ye may vnderstande,
 That shall lose our lyues vnles god take in hande,
 Vs to delyuer or els we not canne,
 840 Auoide the murder of this carnifex Aman :

An other Iew.

He shall by this murder our goodes wyne,
 And him selfe enlarge his pride to auauance,
 And when he hath all he shall be new to begynne,
 Euer more to gett by some other chaunce.

Mardocheus.

850 yet at the laste all shall cume to mischaunce,
 For both him and his god shall make tame,
 And for theyre pride and pyllage, sende them worldly

Hester.

(shame :

Mardocheus wyth youre cumpanye,
 we haue harde youre lamentation,

855 To our grefe and displeasure verely,
 yet we truste by meke supplication,
 Fyrste vnto god by humble oration
 Aud than to the king by desyre cordyall
 A meane to fynde, for to sauegarde ye all
 Call in the chapell to the intent they maye
 Syng some holy himpne to spede vs this day

than the
 chappell
 do singe.

After this prayer and our former abstynens
 To the good Lorde I call for cumforte
 To inspyre the prynce, & his mynd incence
 865 That I may optayne now at my resorte
 To redeme the Iewes, all the hole sorte
 Eke to dysclose the falsed fauell and fraude.

Of this cruell Aman to thy prayse & laude
Assuerus.

O goodly Hester our most noble Quene,
870 Of personage pearles and in wisdom alone,
In corage and countenaunce none lyke is seene,
So discrete in dallyance was neuer none,
where is your comfort, care can bee none,
Loe here our wand, approach nere to this place,
875 That we may kisse you, and in our armes embrace,
what aske you ladye, and what do you demaunde
Halfe our realme is yours, yf ye commaunde,
Hester.

here thei
kysse.

Noble prince and our espouse most deare,
Since that to aske ye haue geuen me libertie,
880 I besech your grace, with heart most entier
That it may please you this day to dine with me
Eke my lord Aman I woulde be glad to see
At the same banket for to take repaste
Assuerus.

Call vs in Aman that we may go in haste,
Aman.

885 I am here ready to atende vpon your grace.
Assuerus.

Then let vs go while we haue tyme and space.
Lady Hester our moste beloued Quene,
So power and so exauisite is thys repaste,
Both of wine and meate that no better may beene,
890 youre mirth eke and manners so pleasaunte to attaste,
That for to departe we make no maner haste,
Eke our presence we knowe is to youre pleasure,
Farre better than golde or any worldly treasure.

Here
must bee
prepared
a banket
in y place

wherfore as we sayde we wolde ye shoulde demande

895 And at your pleasure, your petition make
 The one halfe of our reame, yf ye it cummaund
 we shall with departe, only for your sake
 and of it to you, a playne surrender make
 and the more ye aske, wyth louinge intente
 900 the more we shall geue, and the better be contente
 Hester.

Noble prynce your hye magnyficens
 your bounte, and espieciall grace
 So ofte and so kyndlye doeth incense,
 To make request som profite to purchase,
 905 So y lenger delay were in me great trespase,
 and by y also your grace right wel may it thinke
 That finally your loue vnto my heart did sinke.
 Wherefore this fauoure sence I haue obtayned
 Of your grace to haue any my requeste
 910 This I do aske with true harte vnfayned
 and wyth charitie, of all vertues best,
 That throw all your reame both east and west
 As manye as bee of the Iewyshe nation,
 your grace wil them pardon at my supplication
 915 Assurynge you I am of that nacion,
 Borne and eke brede in Ierusalem,
 yet I and all they by one condemnation,
 To deathe are determind throughe all this realme,
 No remedy : lesse your pardon vs redeme,
 920 we woulde rather we myght be solde in bondage,
 Than thus to peryshe, by fury and outrage
 Assuerus.
 what is he, or what is hys authoritie,
 That is so bolde thys acte to attempt ?
 Hester.

It is Aman that by cruell enuy

- 925 Is oure mortall enymye and wold vs enterrupt
That our lyfe and godes from vs were adempte
Then wold he rule all and if he myght to all get
And all shoulde not suffice, so hie his heart is set.

Hys pompe and his pryde, so muche is in dede,

- 930 That yf he had all, it coulede him not suffice,
At thys tyme hys treasure youres doeth excede,
And yet content is he in no wyse,
But to gette moore daylye he doeth deuise,
The commons he extorteth tyll they bee lame

- 935 He takes the profyt and ye beare the name.
But better it were that he shulde suffer payne
Than thus by crafte, your honour to dystaine
By his false leasinges, he putteth other in blame
Deludinge youre grace, when he lyst to fayne

- 940 And no man so worthy for to suffer payne,
As he him selfe that by hys poyson and gall,
Hath deceyued you, and eke youre commons all.

Assuerus.

He signified vnto me that the Iewes did
Not feede the poore by hospitalitie

- 945 Their possessions he sayde, were all but hydde,
Amonge them selues lyuyng voluptuouslye,
Thinkyng the same might be verely,
Much better employed for the common weale,
where now it litle profitteth or neuer a deale.

Hester.

- 950 Noble prince as for hospitalitie.
Of the Iewes dwellinge in your regyon
It is with them as alwayes hath bene
Sins the beginning of their possession

which god to them gaue, of his mere mocion,
 955 Eke great knowledge both of cattell and of grayne
 That none to them like houshold coulede maintayne,
 Is not of Abraham the hospytallyte,
 In scripture noted and of noble fame,
 But one honoring when he receiued three,
 960 The trenite figured in the same,
 Both Isaake and Iacob had a lyke name,
 Of whom the twelue tribes descended be,
 which euer dyd maintaine hospitallyte.

Sinse god therfore hath begunne theyre housholde,
 965 And ay hath preserued theyre hospitallite,
 I aduise noman to be so bolde,
 The same to dissolue what so euer he be,
 Let God alone for he shall orderly,
 A fine ad finem, both here and there
 970 Omnia disponere suauiter.

Assuerus.

O kaytiffe moste crafty o false dissembler,
 with thy flatteringe tonge thou haste deceyued me,
 All noble princes by me may be ware,
 whom they shall truste and put in auctorite,
 975 Eke whom they shall promote to ryches and dignite.
 But we shall teache the good for thine ingratitude,
 And by the all other theyre prince to delude.

Aman.

O lady Hester moste noble princesse,
 Of thine honour and goodnes soueraine,
 980 Extende to me that pitie or els doutles,
 To deathe I am dressed and mortall payne,
 I wotte I haue deserued it for certaine,
 And againste the my offence is great,

where

wherefore vneth I dare thy goodnesse entreate,
 985 But trueth is, the merite of thys is better
 And God it more accepteth a thousande fold
 Agaynst whome the offence is greater
 And of them that of iniurie coule not tell me
 wherefore to speake somewhat it makes me bolde
 990 To encrease thy merite and rewarde heauenlye
 Saue my life and I thy seruante shall be.

Hester.

Aman this matter so heinous is in dede
 That of our honour we wyll nother speake nor speede

Aman.

Alas then am I vtterlye marred
 995 I must streighte die it can not be deferred.

Assuerus.

O thou kaytyffe canste thou not be contente,
 with the mischeffe by the done before,
 But the quene wyll oppresse, we beinge presente
 what nede we call for euidence moore
 1000 Make him sure and fast and therto bind him sore
 we will that oure counsell shortlye deuice,
 How we shalbe bestow him accordyng to iustice

Arbona.

There is in the house of thys traitour Aman
 A paire of galowes of fiftie cubites hie
 1005 Vpō them he had thought either now or than
 To haue caused Mardocheus to die.

Assuerus.

Leade him hence, and vpon them by and by
 See that ye hange him, and so stoppe his breathe
 without fauoure see he snffer deathe.

Hardydardye.

other

1010 Other folkes be tardye, as wel as hardy dardy
 By this reckeninge
 A syr besyde belles, bacon and somewhat els,
 Must nedes haue hanginge.

Assewerus.

Hanginge doe serue, when they that deserue,
 1015 Are false feytoures Hardy dardy.
 And it commes to lottes, of heringes and sprottes
 which be no traytours
 To hange in the smoke, til they chaunge their cloke
 From white to redde.

Assewerus.

1020 But such do no wronge, wherfore they do not honge
 Tyl they be ded.

Hardy dardy.

ye speake somewhat like, for it toucheth the quicke
 To be hanged in good heale

Assewerus.

yet none nede to care, that is wyse and ware
 1025 And truly wyll deale

Hardydardy

Haue ye not rede, of Naso Ouide,
 That eloquent Poet,
 Nor Valery, which telles merely,
 The proper feates,

1030 How the smith Perillus, like a tuta vilus
 Made a bull of bras
 He had thought iwis, to haue pleased king Phalaris
 But yet he did much wurse,

Assuerus.

why so?

Hardydardye.

I wene

1035 I wene by god he made a rodde,
 For his owne ars,
 Phalaris coulde not get with in the bull to shett,
 Lo here beginnes the game,
 wherefore in dede he toke for nede,

1040 Perillus maker of the same.

In he did him turne and made the fier to burne
 And greatly to increace,
 He cast him in such heate and eke in such sweate,
 He fried him in his greace,

Assewerus.

1045 what meane you by this.

Hardydardy.

I wyll tell you by gis my hole intencion.
 I meane my master is the fyrste taster,
 Of his owne inuencion.

The gallhouse he made both hye and brode,

1050 For Mardocheus he them mente,
 And now he is faine him selfe for certaine,
 To play the fyrste pagente.

Assuerus.

He that deserues payne is worthy certaine,
 Euen for to haue it.

Hardydardy.

1055 Therfore god sende all those, that will steale mens
 That once they may goe naked. (clothes,

Arbona.

If it please your grace this traitoure Aman,
 we haue put to deathe as was youre cummaundymnt.

Assuerus.

Then shall we streighte as well as we canne,

1060 Bestowe his goodes for he made no testamente.

F.i.

Lady

Lady hester this is our intent
 The house of Aman with all his treasure,
 we geue it you, do with all youre pleasure.

Hester.

I thanke your grace with harte entyre,
 1065 Nowe dare I be bolde to shewe you the playnesse,
 Of my minde, since Mardocheus is heare
 If it please your grace the truth is doutles,
 All be it or now I dyd it not confesse,
 This Mardocheus is for certayne,
 1070 My fathers brother, no longer I wyll it leyne
 A gentyll man he is, for lynyalleye
 He is borne of the stocke of Beniaminy,

Assuerus.

we be ryghte gladde we know his linage,
 Hys truth to vs before was knowen well,
 1075 we wyll him aduaunce accordynge hys parage,
 Holde Mardocheus here is our rynge and seale,
 It is our truste ye wyll with iustice deale,
 we commytte therfore vnto youre wyse discrecion,
 Of all thys prouince iudgemente and corection.

Mardocheus.

1080 I thanke youre grace trustinge ye shall not heare,
 In all thynges but as iustice doth requyre,

Hester.

Noble prince and our espouse moste deare,
 I beseche youre grace at my suppl ycation,
 The precepte youre grace sente at Amans desyre,
 1085 Againste me and all the Iewishe nation,
 May be reuoked and vpon conuocation
 A new deuised by them that can do best,
 And that sente forth to set the Iewes at reste.

More

- More ouer lett the realme be perused
 1090 By them that be of your hye counsell
 And if any haue the lawe abused
 Of all the Iewes with in youre comon weale
 Let them not spare correction to deale
 And strayghtly constrayne them selfe to addresse
 1095 To obserue that law god gaue them by Moses

- The Iewes be the people of god elected
 And weare his badge of cyrcumsicion
 The dayly prayer of that hole secte
 As the psalmes of Daudid by gostly inspiracion
 1100 Eke holy ceremonies of gods prouision
 To god is vaileable, that nothing greater,
 And al the whole realme for thē fares y better.

Assuerus.

Stande ye vp Lady, and approche ye neare
 your petition we graunte it gladlye,

Hester.

- 1105 Than if it please your graee to heare,
 This epistle is made to the sealyng readye.

Assuerus.

Let it be red that it maye by and by
 Be sealed and consigned, and so furthe sent
 and than I truste ye shall be content.

Scriba.

- 1110 Vve Assuerus kynge, and highe regent
 from India to Ethiopia plaine
 Send gretinge and straighte commaundement,
 To all the heades and rulers sertaine,
 wylling they should vpon a great payne,
 1115 In a hundreth prouinces, and seuen and twentye

Here the
 S c r y b e
 doeth re-
 de y kig-
 es letter.

All men compell to this our decre

All though it be so our preceptes that be sente
Be of dyuerse nature, and playne repugnant
when ye know our mynd ye shalbe contente

1120 To thinke it no lyghtnes, nor wytte in constante
But the necessytie of tymes varyant
And as cause requereth for the vtyllyte
Of our hole reame heedes and comynalte

And to the entent ye may know our playne mynde

1125 The sonne of Amadathy called Aman
A Macedone borne and lyke to theyr owne kynde
Not of our nacion, as all men tell can
whiche by his sutteltye, both now and than
Our gentelnes so in fecteth for certayne

1130 That neare we were lyke all Iewes to haue slayne

we fauored hym that he was called
Our father, and all men dyd to him honoure
But his harte wyth pryde, so strongly was walled
That by his slyght and crafty demeanoure

1135 Had we not espyed his subtile behauoure
He wolde haue dystroyd quene Hester our wyfe
And from vs at the lengthe haue taken our lyfe

But as for the Iewes, we found them innocente
And without all blame though to death they were dyth

1140 wherfore Aman we thought it conuenient
To hang hym tyll the death accordyng to ryght
within Susis our noble cetye of myghte
Not only our dede nor yet theyr chans nor fate

But

But goddes owne Iustice what so euer they prate,

- 1145 This our precepte and hye cummaundmente,
 we wolde to all cities ye shoulde declare.
 This is our purpose and veri entente,
 The Iewes to theyre lawes them selfe shoulde prepare
 Duely to kepe them and not from them square,
 1150 And no man to hurt them see ye remember,
 As it was mente the .xiii. day of december,
 Dated at Susis this is certayne,
 The .iiii. day of december the .iii. yeare of our raine.

Assuerus.

- This is well se it be sealed anon,
 1155 And that euery citie of them may haue one,
 Now madam I truste ye be conteute.

Hester.

 yea and that veramente,
 May it now please you your selfe to repose?

Assuerus.

- Very well saue fyrst we wol disclose,
 1160 Parte of our mynde which we thinke necessary,
 If it be well hard we truste it shall edifye,
 My Lordes by this fygure ye may well se,
 The multitude hurte by the heades negligence,
 If to his pleasure so geuen is he,
 1165 That he will no paine take nor dilligence,
 who careth not for his cure ofte loseth credence,
 A prouerbe of olde sume time in vsage,
 Few men that serue but for theyre owne aduauntage.

Hester.

 And yet the seruantes that bee vntrue,

- 1170 A whyle in the world they lyfe may they leade,
 yea theyr welth and worshippe dayly renewe,
 But at the length I asswre you in dede,
 Theyr fauell and falsehed wyll come abrede,
 whiche shall be to them more bytter than gall,
 1175 The hygher they clyme the deper they fall,

Assewerus.

Let vs then cesse thys conuocatione,
 And this tyme dyssolue this congregation.

Hester.

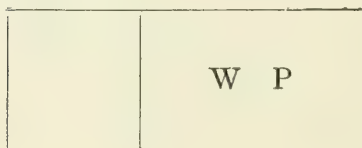
That lyke as here they haue lyued deuoutly,
 So god graunt them in heauen to lyue eternally,

Assewerus.

- 1180 To the which we committe all this company.

F I N I S

Imprynted at London by Wylliam Pickerynge
 and Thomas Hacket, and are to be solde at
 theyre shoppes.



NOTES.

Dramatis Personae. *Assuerus*, or *Assewerus*. The "Assuerus" of the Vulgate, the "Ahasuerus" of the A.V. and the "Artaxerxes" of the Apocryphal chapters.

Aman. This is the form of the name both in the Vulgate and in the English Apocrypha. The A.V. has "Haman".

Mardocheus. The Vulgate form is "Mardochai" and the Apocrypha "Mardocheus". The A.V. has "Mordicai".

Hardy dardy. The word is explained in *N.E.D.* as a reduplication of "hardy" in the sense (a) rash or foolish daring, or (b) a daring fellow, a dare-devil. Skelton in *Speak, Parrot*, l. 450 (Dyce, II. 22) has: "So myche hardy dardy, and so lytell manlynes"; and as late as 1593, Richard Harvey in his *Philadelphus* writes: "A very hardy dardy in deede as euer liued."

Arbona. Here both the Vulgate and A.V. have an aspirated form "Harbona" or "Harbonah".

1. *demise* = grant; now only in legal use in this sense.

8. *parage* = kindred, family; cf. l. 716.

11. *superiall*. This word appears to be due to a confusion between "superior" and "supernal".

22. The second half of this line is clearly corrupt, beyond, I fear, all chance of restoration. We may suspect that the rime-word was "sure". The sense is difficult to recover. It would appear that a new sentence or at least a fresh clause begins with l. 25; so that the first three lines of the speech should be complete in themselves. The most probable construction perhaps would be "Dread king, (since you ask of your trusty councillors) which, among riches etc. is the most important; it seems to me" etc. The epithets "doughty", "weighty" and "sure" are probably alternatives, and likewise "soueraigne" and "kinge Assuerus", but something must also have been omitted.

47. *conuince* = overcome, conquer; cf. ll. 290, 308.

59. *coloured* = partial.

61. *cure* = charge.

67. *rebell*. The *b* is broken in such a way as to resemble a *v*. Grosart read in consequence "revell".

71. The argument appears to be that it was his personal justice that brought him honour; and that consequently if it had been merely the act of a subordinate it would have been of little value.
72. *shoulde*. The *d* is broken in such a way as to resemble a *v*.
81. etc. The passage is somewhat obscure but the sense appears to be that the people will never be satisfied with the justice of inferior officers because they believe that these will only exercise justice from interested motives, and that the king alone can be expected to do so from mere love of equity.
84. *to....to*. For the repetition of the preposition see Franz, *Shakespeare Grammatik*, p. 270.
90. *namely* = in particular. cf. Barclay, *Ship of Fools*, ed. Jamieson, II. 12.
 She [Folly] hath all men in hir captyuyte
 But namely suche as are of moste degre.
93. *Quodz* = quoque. The contraction mark is the ordinary tailed *z* of the black-letter fount. Grosart consequently printed "Quoqz". Cp. "Ubi non est gubernator populus corrueat" in *Prov.* XI, 14.
95. *square* = depart, diverge. The usual sense is the exact opposite of this, (to square with = agree with). Shakespeare, however, uses the word absolutely in the sense of "quarrel". According to Grosart the present use is still current in Yorkshire. It is unknown to Wright, *Dialect Dictionary*, but cp. Halliwell, *Dictionary*, s.v.
126. *report*. Probably a French form with silent *t* is intended so as to form a (sort of) rime with "pure" and "sure".
- 130 side note. *with*. The *w* belongs to another and smaller fount.
- 140 side note. *trauers*. Grosart erroneously describes this as "a closet behind a screen". The "traverse" was a curtain, opening in the middle, which hung across the stage. To enter it was to go off the stage through it. Skelton in his *Bowge of Courte*, l. 58 (Dyce I. 32) uses the form "traues" in the sense of "curtain" independently of its technical stage use.
151. *nam a deo missa*. Esther is said to mean "star", and Hadassah (Edissa) "myrtle". Whether there is any authority for the present explanation, whether it is only inserted for the sake of the rime, I cannot say.
183. *rigors* = rigorous.
- 203 side note. *place*. According to Collier "the open space where the performers stood". The term "traverse" l. 140 implies that the play was intended for representation on a stage of some sort, so "place" would apparently mean merely "stage". Whether it had any more technical meaning, I do not know cf. *Thersytes*, l. 21. s.d. (Haz. Dods. I, 396) and Skelton, *Magnificence*, l. 241. s.d.: "Itaque *Measure* exeat locum" etc.

205. *towne*. The *t* is broken in such a manner as to resemble a *c*.
211. *according your mynde*. The omission of "to" is unusual and may be an error of the press. Thomas Watson, however, has "To paint thy glories cording their desert" in *Tears of Fancy*, Sonnet 59.
212. *made searche all*. The phrase may be used as equivalent to the more usual "let search" = caused to be searched, but it is not unlikely that we should read "made searche in all".
227. *sadnes* = serious demeanour.
229. *put in presse*. The rime of course demands the common variant "prease". The phrase is most commonly used reflexively "to put oneself in press", i.e. to go among people. Consequently it is here equivalent to "to diffuse pleasure".
234. *breme*. The usual meaning of the word was "fierce" and there would be no difficulty in explaining it here by an extension of this sense, i.e. "lusty". There still survived however the older sense of "bright, shining". Collier explained it as "superlative".
241. *laye* = law, faith; hence here, "nation".
247. *eftsons* = in future, continually. The idea of "soon" is frequently absent in the use of the word before the seventeenth century.
257. *sad* = serious.
274. *couert* = the cover of authority. "Under covert according to the lawe" is equivalent "to under authority of the law", not of natural right.
285. *sally* = in earnest.
305. *pryncipall* = beginning.
319. *fedde*. We should presumably read "be fedde"; but it is not unlikely that the "haue" of the line before was still in the mind of the author and that he vaguely thought he could make "fedde" depend upon it in the sense of "cause to be fed" instead, as is necessary, on "let".
332. *pall* = a rich stuff. cf. Skelton, *Colyn Cloute*, l. 312: (Dyce, I, 323) "In purple and paule belapped".
334. *licence*. i.e. license her withdrawal, dismiss her. Grosart glossed the word by "authorise"!
- 334-5. For the rime cf. l. 488. The *n* : *m* consonance passed muster with the majority of poets throughout the sixteenth century.
340. *chance*. The grammar is frequently lax. This should of course be "chances". Possibly the writer was influenced by the plural "men". Or else it may well be the influence of the following "such" that caused the dropping of the final *s*, cf. *Materialien* III, l. 8521 note, and Brandl, *Quellen*, p. 425, l. 112: "and he that stande surest may fortune to slyde".
344. *wyn*. An unetymological form used for the sake of the rime; but cf. l. 370.
348. *fende* = fiend. Probably here a mere error for "finde" (: kinde); but the spelling "fende" is very common,

353. *recoyle*. We should clearly, as Collier suggests, read the French form "recule" for the sake of the rime. cf. Skelton, *Duke of Albany*, l. 52 (Dyce, II, 69) :

Than shamefully
He reculed backe ;

also Erasmus' *Apophthegmes* trans. Udall, 1542, p. 275^b " he reculed into a certain place strong and well fensed " .

351. *rydes*. See also l. 254 *profers* ... *offers* , and l. 400 *gose*, and cf. Franz, *op. cit.* 203.

357. *start* = start away, " jib " .

364. *get it*. We should doubtless read " haue it " for the rime.

372-3 cf. Stowe-Howe, *Annales*, p. 546^b : " in his [Wolsey's] Galery were set diuers Tables, wherupon lay a great number of goodly rich stuffe, as whole pieces of silke of all colours, veluet, satin, damosk, taffata, grograin, and other things : also there lay 1000. pieces of fine Holland cloth,..... He caused to be hanged the wals of the galery on the one side, with cloth of gold, cloth of tissue, cloth of siluer, and rich cloth of bodken of diuers colours " .

376. *And* = if.

378. *the statute of apparell* — A sumptuary law. See *The Chronolog. Index to the Stat. of the Realm*, p. 29 etc. and Skelton's *Speke, Parrot*, l. 475 (Dyce, II, 23) :

So myche mokkyshe makynge of statutes of array ; —
Syns Dewcallyons flodde was nevyr, I dar sey.

During Skelton's lifetime there were the following " statutes of apparell " : I. Hen. VIII. c. 14. (1509-10) ; 6. Hen. VIII. c. I. (1514-15) ; 7. Hen. VIII. c. 6. (1515).

386. *elfe* = a mischievous person. Skelton applies the term to Wolsey in *Why Come Ye nat to Courte*, l. 1112 (Dyce, II, 61) " this gracelesse elfe " .

395. *take up* = monopolise, engage for his own service.

406. *or* = before.

411. *wynkes* = makes a sign.

418. *reproue*. The rime necessitates the common alternative form " repreue " which had the same meaning. Skelton has " reprüable " for " reprovable " in *Magnificence*, l. 1436.

421. This interjected remark, like those in ll. 392, 401, 438, etc., appears to be extra-metrical.

424-5. cf. Skelton's *Why Come Ye nat to Courte*, l. 1051 (Dyce, II, 59) :

And ofte prechours be blamed,
Bycause they haue proclaimed
His madnesse by writynge etc.

426 *assisted*. We must understand "have" ("should 'a assisted"). The omission is common; cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman p. 37:

"Of lands and goods which should me much avaunced" and Henry VIII writes to Anne Boleyn: "I think your kindness and my fervence of love causeth it; for otherwise I would not thought it possible, that for so little a while it should have grieved me". *Hartl. Misc.* Lond. 1808, I. 198.

brysted. Grosart glossed the word by "breasted", taking the meaning apparently to be: "I know not what heart they can have had [to do such a thing]". There is nothing in *NED* to bear out this suggestion. There is however a substantive "brest" meaning "injury, harm". It is perhaps just possible that there may have been a corresponding verb and that we here have the past part. or at least a participial adj. with the meaning "injured, turned to wrong", in which case the sense would be "I know not what ailed them, or what was wrong with them, [that they should do such a thing]". There is however no record of the verbal use. Another suggestion would make the word a variant of "burst", past part. of "burst". This northern form is found in the *Cursor Mundi* (l. 22395) and in modern dialect (Wm. and Yks., see Wright, *op. cit.*). "Burst" would then be taken as equivalent to "broken" in the sense of "educated". Though "broken" = "educated" is common, there is no authority for the use of "burst" in that sense.

430. *they solde theyr woll. i.e. they "fleeced" their "flock"*. cf. l. 549. Skelton holds the same language in *Colyn Cloute*, l. 75 (Dyce, I. 314):

Laye men say indede
How they take no hede
Theyr sely shepe to fede,
But plucke away and pull
The fleces of theyr wull,
Vnethes they leue a locke
Of wull amonges theyr flocke

• • • • •
All to haue promocyon.

So also Bale, *Three Laws*, l. 1004:

We are soch mercenaryes,
And subtile proprietaryes,
As from the flock all carries,
The wolfe, skynne, flesh and all.

and l. 1274:

The people prestes do famysh,
And their goodes from them rauysh.

bull = a papal dispensation for holding a plurality.

432. *toke adulation*, i.e. had recourse to adulation. The use is Shakespearian. "Hee took this place for sanctuary", *Comedy of Errors*, V. 94. *cf.* "to take flight". But it may be merely an error for "toke to adulation".
439. *square*. *cf.* l. 95. In either case the idea appears to be the departure from some standard.
443. *lappe*. Apparently a bundle, from "lap" to wrap. *NED* only quotes one instance of this use and that doubtful. On the other hand it is possible that "portiō" should be "potiō" which would giue a better rime and also a more pregnant sense in connection with line 444. In this case "lappe" would of course mean a dose or sop. The whole passage is rendered rather obscure by the confusion of pronouns.
- markes*. The rime shows that it should be "marke".
444. *meane* = tenor.
447. *boorde* = jest; the phrase is tautological. *cf.* l. 662.
450. The comma after "No" is hardly visible.
455. *for god* = 'fore God.
- clarke*. The rime demands the earlier form "clerke"; the modern pronunciation substituted by the printer is first found in the 15th century. Unless, indeed, we read "warke" for "wurke" in l. 453.
459. *rewlers*. An error presumably for "rewles".
466. *lackes*. See Franz, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
469. *banne* = curse. *cf.* Skelton *Magnificence* l. 2266 (Dyce I. 299): "What begger art thou that thus doth banne and wary?" and *Why Come Ye nat to Courte?* l. 888 (Dyce II. 54): "And beggers they ban."
488. *holydame* = halidom. The rime is at best a very imperfect one; *cf.* l. 335.
501. Read "awaye pyne" for the rime.
514. *therevntyll*. The *v* is sometimes found, as here, at the beginning of the second element of a compound; *cf.* l. 715. "device", where, however, it is probably a misprint.
- 520, 522. The commas at the ends of these lines are hidden under the mounting paper.
- 535 catchword. The first *l* is concealed under the mounting paper and the second is partly shaved.
542. *sent thomas watryng*. Grosart suggested that "watring" meant weeping! Collier was right in his note: "St. Thomas-a-watering was at that time a common place of execution near Southwark". *cf.* Nares, II, p. 945.
544. *pytter pattour tytter totur*. Grosart explains these words as equivalent to "palpitare" and "vacillare". They are evidently comic reduplications of "patter" and "totter", and in those senses I take them. "Their crafty talk will in the end make their position shaky".

546-553. The metaphor and the complicated puns render these lines somewhat obscure. The "lamb nor woll" of l. 549, of course refers to the "fleeing" of the "flock" (cf. l. 430), while the "bull nor the calfe" refers to the papal "commission". He could not content himself with his bull if he was prevented from trading in his cure. *Cp. A disclosing of the great Bull and certain Calves that he hath gotten, and especially the monster Bull, that roared at my Lord Byshops Gate in Harl. Misc. ed. Lond. 1808. I, p. 483.* The writer, according to Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. 1691, p. 63, was Thomas Norton, joint author of *Gorboduc*.

552. *by god*. Read "by gad" for the rime. The earliest quotation for the form in *NED* is 1608.

there was had. "there" is probably demonstrative referring to "lambe nor woll". "In them lay what I wanted."

553. *nere*. The old form of the adverbial comparative. The use is Shakespearian. It does not stand for "nigher" as the rime might suggest to modern ears, for in l. 559. we find it riming both with "here" and "desyre". In this last word the *r* did not yet tend to become syllabic. For the rime cf. *Thersites* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, I. 413): near: inquire.

556. *geue* = give; a common variant.

566. *wades myll*. Grosart has the illuminating note: "A local proverb after some man named Wade." Whatever its origin the expression appears to have been a euphemism for the gallows; cf. Harsnet, *Declaration of Popish impostures* 1603, p. 104: "for they were all deuil-whippes of the maker, of a staight [*sic*] stocke, cleane corde, & sure twist. as true and wel-knotted stuffe, as euer Wades myll did afford". Wade may quite conceivably have been a real rope maker; the profession was commonly held to be a degrading one.

573 *No forse* = no matter.

574. *thee* = thrive, prosper. O. E. *théon*.

592. *honestie* = honour, position. The use is confined to the earlier 16th century.

596. *contumilious*. Read "contumilies" for the rime.

599. *god to recorde* = "I call God to witness". *Cp. Skelton's Why Come Ye nat to Courte?* l. 483 (Dyce, II, p. 42):

That, God to recorde,
He ruleth all at wyll.

604. *a brode*. Read "a brede" for the rime as in l. 1173. "Brede" was the old form of "breadth"; "a-brede" was equivalent to "abroad" ("on broad") but was archaic in the 16th century except in northern English.

618. *wordes*. This might be taken to be a misprint for "lordes". I do not however think that any change is necessary.

644. *pety*. Grosart took the word to mean "piety", on what grounds I know not.
The rime of an accented with an unaccented syllable is frequent in the piece.
655. *bage* = badge.
658. *fitte*. The first *t* is broken so as to resemble a *c*.
659. *well be so*. Read "be so well" for the rime.
660. *afole*. For "a fool". The name of Wolsey's last fool was Patch.
662. *bourde* = jest; but it appears here to have rather the sense of to speak indiscreetly.
674. *haue nought*. Read "nought haue" for the rime.
- 583, 687, 688. The periods at the ends of these lines have been altered to commas with a pen in modern ink. The comma at the end of l. 708 is also open to suspicion, but is probably genuine.
687. *amonge*. Elliptical use, equivalent to "now and then". It is so used in the first line of the *Nut Brown Maid* :
Be it right or wrong these men among
On women do complain,
where, however, the sense is rather "continually".
688. "I bet you then a groat."
692. "Content" wants a rime word. It does not, however, look as if anything were missing. "Redie" in l. 691 rimes, I take it, with "merely".
693. *sirs*. Perhaps a misprint for "sir".
704. *religion* = the church, men of religion. *cf.* Bale's *Kynge Johan* l. 683 :
"Of all relygyons I kepe the chyrch-dore keye." The allusion in Q. Hester is evidently to Henry VIII.
706. *ryall*. The first *l* is broken so as to resemble an *i*.
- 708 *but only*. The whole stanza appears to be interrogative. "Who" refers by anticipation to "your grace" though strictly it should be "what" referring to "wisdom and polye". "Who" must be understood as repeated before "compelleth" in l. 707. If the sentence be taken relatively to an understood antecedent, we should have to read "by only" or "but by".
718. *uone* [= none] *my vertues* = no virtues of mine. The attributive use of "none" was not common. The nearest instances to the present quoted by Franz (*op.cit.* p. 169) are Raleigh's "he had none honest pretence" and, for the use of the plural, Bunyan's "I had almost none others". The meaning is : "It is no virtue or wisdom of mine but your goodness [gooddes] alone which have made me out of nothing." *cf.* Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, ed. Jamieson, II, p. 35 : "With suche Folyes none wyse ought intermyt"; *ibid.*, p. 52 : "To stryfe and pledynge for thyng of none auayle."
741. *interempte* = destroyed; Lat. *interemptus*.
743. *your subjects to rebell*. This appears to be nonsense as it stands. Probably

we should insert, or understand, "to" at the beginning of the line : "and is an occasion to your subjects to rebel" *i.e.* "offers them an opportunity [or more likely a cause] for rebellion". Or possibly we should read "do rebel" *i.e.* "is the occasion (that) your subjects do rebel" — but I do not think this likely.

744. *it is expedient*. Collier conjectured "inexpedient", which would restore the sense but not the rime. I suggest "its inexpedience", *i.e.* "the inexpediency of [l. 745]".

752. *If*. This is evidently a misprint for "Is".

756-7. In *Esther* III. 9. Haman offers himself to pay "ten thousand talents of silver" into the king's treasure, if he will allow him a free hand in the matter.

760. *towched*. This may mean "fashioned", "handled", a use found in Shakespeare, or it may be a misprint for "cowched" = framed, expressed.

766. *ientile*. Whether "gentle" or "gentile" is intended it is not easy to say.

769. *out of facion* = out of shape.

771. *holde* = take, accept; not for "behold" as Grosart suggests. *cf.* l. 1076.

775. The line appears to be extra-metrical.

782. *preste* = ready.

791. The rime hardly seems satisfactory; "deserue it : haue it" would probably be allowable, and so it may have stood.

796. *yf wiste ye wolude not angrye* = "if [I] wiste ye wolde not [be] angrye". Three misprints in one half line!

804. *saint thomas watring. i.e.*, to be hanged. *cf.* l. 542.

805. *at hoste, i.e.* lodged as at an "host" or hostel, hence to be on familiar terms with : "men think they were inspired by the Holy Ghost".

807. *sayed sayed*. Collier proposed to read "layed" for the second of these. He was probably right. "To lay" meant "to put forward, submit, allege". It is obsolete in this sense except in the phrase "to lay claim to".

take = taken, accepted, M.E. "y-take".

818. *spill* = destroy.

822. *avoid* = remove.

826. *Esther* III. 13 : "the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is the month Adar". Adar corresponds to February-March of our calendar. Last year (1903) the Fast of Esther (Adar 13) fell on March 12.

827. *fortune* = befall.

836. See Vergil, *Buc.* I; also *Geor.* II. 198.

840. *carnifex* = butcher. It is perhaps significant that Wolsey is said to have been the son of a butcher. In the Decastichon appended to Skelton's *Why Come ye nat to Courte* (Dyce, II, 66) Wolsey is called "Carni-

ficus vitulus ». He is also, apparently in allusion to his name, called « maris lupus » *cf.* l. 820.

851. *i.e.* God shall make tame both him and his.

860. *chapell* = choir, chorus. Collier has the astonishing note : « This stage-direction shows, in all probability, that the performance was by the Chapel Royal, or at least that they assisted, and sang here out of sight ».

864. *incence* = act as incentive, dispose. Or it may equally well stand for « insense » = to cause to understand.

867. *fauell*. Grosart declared himself unable to « find » the word. Collier interpreted it as « speech » (It. *favella*), but this will not account for its use in 1173 where it evidently implies deceit. It originally meant a fallow horse; this became, in the *Roman du Faurel* (1310), the personification of duplicity and cunning, and hence, aided perhaps by its resemblance with O. F. *favele* = idle talk, the word came to mean merely cunning or deceit. *cf.* Skelton, *Bowge of Courte* (Dyce I. 35) l. 133 :

The fyrste was Fauell, full of flattery

Wyth fables false that well coude fayne a tale.

868 head-line. The period at the end is dirty and has the appearance of a comma.

890. *besech*. The *b* is broken so as to resemble a *v*.

903. *incense* = urge. *cf.* l. 864.

918. *realme*. The rime requires the pronunciation « reame ». This form, influenced by the O.F. *reaume* (mod. *royaume*), is found from Langland and Chaucer down to Spenser and Daniel.

925. *interrupt*. Obviously a mistake for « enterempt ». *cf.* l. 791.

926. *adempte* = taken away. Grosart glosses the word as « revoked », which is the meaning of the modern legal term « adeemed », not of the old participial adj. « adempt ».

934. *extorteth*, *i.e.* practises extortion upon, with allusion to the literal sense « to rack ».

950. The period at the end of this line has been altered to a comma with the pen in modern ink.

952. Read « hath be » for the rime, the usual southern form of the past part. supplanted in the course of the 16th century by the northern « been ».

954. *of his mere mocion*. This seems to mean « on his own initiative ».

981. *dressed* = prepared, appointed.

988. *tell me*. This is obviously corrupt. The rime word should probably be « told » (? « could not have told »), unless by any chance it was « coude ». The most probable interpretation appears to me to be : « the merit of [forgiveness] is the greater, God accepts it the more willingly, [on the part of one] against whom the offence is greater and [extended towards one] who could not countercharge an injury ».

993. *of our honour*, i.e. "consistently with our honour", or, possibly, merely "on our honour".

nother = neither.

speake nor speede. I take this to mean "speak in [your favour] nor speed [your cause]". Another suggested interpretation is "we will neither speak, nor, as a matter of course, speed [for you]" in support of which Skelton is quoted, *Bowge of Court*, l. 91 (Dyce, I. 33):

"Who spareth to speke, in faith he spareth to spede."

998. *opresse* = ravish. See *Esther*, VII. 8: "Then the king returned out of the palace garden into the place of the banquet of wine; and Haman was fallen upon the bed whereon Esther was. Then said the king, Will he force the queen also before me in the house? ". As it stands in the text, where none of the circumstances are mentioned, this is hardly intelligible. That this is the sense intended is however plain from the king's remark in the next line "what nede we call for evidenece moore". No doubt we must suppose "business" to account for the allusion; Aman probably falls on the couch on which the queen is seated and endeavours to embrace her knees. In some of the Latin plays on the subject, in which the incident also occurs, the action is made clear by the words put into the mouth of Aman.

1012. *A syr* = "Ah sir", according to Grosart. There is, of course, no reason why "A" should not stand for "Ah" here, as in many other places, but Grosart's interpretation would leave the sentence without a subject. He no doubt interpreted it: "bacon and something else besides bells needs hanging". This however makes nonsense of the passage; "besyde" must govern the whole phrase "belles, bacon and somewhat els", since Hardydardy evidently means that Aman too requires hanging. I therefore take "A syr" as the subject, meaning "a lord".

1014. *doe* = does. The form "do" for the third person (now only S.W. dial.) was not uncommon. In the present instance it may stand for "does", the *s* being dropped before "serve".

1015. *feytoures* = impostors.

1026. *Naso Ovide*. Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, I, 653, and *Ibis* l. 439 (cf. Pliny, *lib.* 34, 19, 39).

1028. *Valery*. Valerius Maximus III. 2, 2. and cf. Skelton, *Ware the hauke* l. 198, (Dyce I. 161) and Dyce's note, II, 210.

1029. *feates*. The rime requires the singular form.

1030. A parallel is also drawn between Peryllus and Aman by Barclay in the *Ship of Fools*, ed. Jamieson, II. p. 39-40. Similar legends are told of the inventor of the *guillotine* in France and of the "maiden" in Scotland.—*tuta vilus*. cf. Brandl, *Quellen*, p. 71, l. 872: "tituilly sygnifyth the

- fend of helle " and *cf.* Eckhardt, *Die lustige Person im älteren engl. Drama* (Palaestra, XVII) pp. 66 ff.
1033. *wurse*. We should probably read " warse " which would, like " ars ", form a not unusually bad rime with " bras ".
1037. " Could find no person whom to shut up in the bull ". *cf.* l. 477.
1046. *by gis* = by Jesus. Grosart, " by a guesse " (!)
1049. *gallhouse* = gallows. It is just possible that some fanciful derivation from " gall-house " affected the spelling.
1063. The comma after " you " is somewhat suspicious, but is, on the whole, probably genuine.
1064. For the rime " entyre " : " heare " *cf.* l. 553, note ; also ll. 1080-81, etc.
1070. *leyne* = conceal.
1072. *Beniaminy*. A variant, apparently for the sake of the rime, of " Beniamy " as in l. 142, under influence of the form " Benjamin ".
1074. *well*. Read " weal " for the rime, but *cf.* ll. 1090 etc.
1096. *elected*. Read " electe " for the rime.
1099. *as* = such as ; ll. 1099-1100 being parenthetical.
1101. *vaileable* = available, serviceable.
greater. Understand " is ".
1111. *plaine*. I take " plain " as grammatically qualifying " regent " (= evident, acknowledged). Logically it qualifies adverbially the phrase " from India to Ethiopia ".
1126. *Macedone* = Macedonian. This point like the rest of the letter is taken from *Esther* XVI, now printed in the *Apocrypha*. Elsewhere *e.g.* III. 1. he is called an Agagite ; *cf.* l. 105.
1139. *dyth* = ordained. The spelling " dyth " may be a slip for " dyht " or " dyght " which is the usual form and that required by the rime. " Dyth " occurs in the 15th century but may be merely an Anglo-Norman spelling of " dyte ".
- 1140 *square*. *cf.* l. 95.
1152. *Susis*. The Vulgate has the form " Susan ", the A.V. " Shushan ", the English Apocrypha " Susa ".
1153. This date is entirely at variance with the source. The date is not given in the Apocryphal chapters which form the immediate source of this passage (*cf.* l. 1126). But in VIII. 9. we read that the letter was written the 23rd day of the third month, *viz.* Sivan. We also learn from III 7 and 13, that the slaughter was to take place in the 12th year of Ahasuerus' or Artaxerxes' reign, not the 3rd as is here stated. The contradiction may be due to a misreading of iii for xii, but it is a little suspicious that 1561, the year of printing, was the 3rd of Elizabeth.
- 1170 etc. The discrepancies which will be noticed between the printed text and the facsimile are due to imperfections in the latter.
1174. *fauell* = deceit. *cf.* l. 868.

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Materialien zur Kunde
des
älteren Englischen Dramas

INTRODUCTION.

1. DATE. *The Devils Charter* was entered in the Stationers' Register as follows :

16 octobris [1607]

John wright Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]andes of Sir George Bucke and Th[e] wardens The tragedie of Pope Alexander the Sixt as it was played before his Maiestie. . . . vjd
(S. R., ed. Arber, iii, 361.)

From the title-page we learn that it was « plaide before the Kings Maiestie, vpon Candlemasse night last » : this would date the performance, doubtless the first, as Feb. 2, 1607¹. There seems to be no record of any other.

According to the title-page, the play was « renewed, corrected, and augmented » — « more's the pity », says Mr. Fleay — before publication. There is nothing to show us in what the changes or augmentations consisted.

The date of composition we must suppose, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, to have been shortly before the first performance. So far as I can discover, there is not in the play itself

¹ Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.*, i. 30) gives the date as Feb. 2, 1606, which evidently means 1606-7. Dr. Ward says that it « was performed before King James I at Christmas 1606-7, and in October 1607, and was printed in the same year (*Eng. Dram. Lit.*, ii. 627). I can find no evidence of a second performance and am forced to suspect that he intended to write « and was entered in the Stationers' Register in October 1607, and printed in the same year ».

any single piece of evidence which would enable us to assign even an approximate date to it. The sources were all in print several years before.

2. SOURCES. The plot of *The Devils Charter* is made up of two distinct elements, the historical and the legendary. It will be convenient to discuss the sources of these separately, as well as that of the demonology of the play.

(1) History. By introducing Francesco Guicciardini as a chorus, Barnes at once gives us the source of this. Guicciardini's great work on the history of Italy was first published in 1561, four additional books being issued separately three years later, and was frequently reprinted. A Latin translation appeared in 1566 and one into French by Jérôme Chomedey in 1568 and again in 1577. From Chomedey's version it was rendered into English by Geoffrey Fenton, being published in 1579 under the title of *The Historie of Guicciardin*. A second edition appeared in 1599, and a third, with some additional matter, in 1618.

It is natural to suppose that Barnes would make use of the English translation rather than of the Italian original, and this indeed seems to have been the case. In two passages at least the phraseology somewhat recalls Fenton's work, though the resemblance is not particularly striking (cf. notes on ll. 138, 3310), and in lines 2214-6 there is a reference to a saying of St. Gregory which may have been borrowed from a passage inserted in the English translation and not to be found in any other version : it does not, however, occur in Fenton in connection with the same scene as in Barnes, and is too well known for much to be built upon its presence. More satisfactory evidence is afforded by the occurrence in *The Devils Charter* of forms of proper names identical with those used by Fenton, who, translating from Chomedey, generally gives the names in a French guise.

The cases in which Barnes agrees with Fenton in this respect are, I think, sufficiently numerous to prove his use of the translation, but at the same time many other proper names occur the forms of which approximate much more closely to those of the Italian original than to those given by Fenton, while in one case

at least both are employed. It thus seems possible that he may have known both versions, though I think a simpler and more probable theory would be that he read the history in the English translation, but, knowing something of the language of the original, was able to employ either the Italian or the English (or French) form of the names, as suited his convenience. I do not know of any other evidence which would enable us to say whether he was acquainted with Italian or not, but it was of course by no means a rare accomplishment.

I give for comparison a few of the proper names from Guicciardini (edition of Venice, 1574), Fenton's translation (1599), and Barnes : the forms of some others will be found in the notes. It must not of course be supposed that the spelling of the names is constant wherever they occur, but the variations are as a rule unimportant :

Guicciardini	Fenton	Barnes
mole d'Adriano	tower of Adrian	Turret of Saint Adrian (l. 821)
Castel Sant'Agnolo <i>and</i> castello sant' Angelo.	castell S. Ange	Castle Angelo (l. 842)
Colonnesei	Collonnoys	Coloneses (l. 139)
Furli	Furly	Furly (l. 2154) <i>and once</i> furli (l. 1977)
Gismondo Principe de Biselli	Gismon Prince of Vi- selle	Gismond Viselli (l. 295), Gismond di Viselli (l. 579)
Santa Maria del Po- polo	S. Maria de Popolo	Santa Maria di Popolo (l. 809)
Obigni	Monsieur d'aubignie <i>and</i> D'aubygny	Daubigny (l. 138)
S. Piero in Vincola	S. P. ad vincula	Saint Peter ad Vincula (l. 862)
Pontriemoli	Pontreme	Pontremoli (l. 148)
Sinigaglia	Sinigalle	Sinegaglia (l. 2904).

The following names were probably taken from Guicciardini but are assigned to different characters :

la casa de' Baglioni	the family of the Bail- lons	Baglioni (l. 1388) <i>and</i> <i>once</i> Ballion (l. 2732)
Bentiuoglio	Bentiuole	Bentiuoli (l. 1850)
Piccolhuomini	Picolhomini	Piccolomini (l. 802).

Of these names Gismond di Viselli, Daubigny, and Saint Peter ad Vincula seem to be certainly derived from Fenton, while in the case of the Coloneses, Pontremoli, Sinegaglia, and Baglioni the form used by Barnes approaches more closely to the Italian, though the alternative form of the latter, Ballion, which occurs but once, seems to come from Fenton's Baillon. In the other cases the form used in *The Devils Charter* does not agree exactly with that found in either version of the history.

There is, I think, no reason to suppose that Barnes made use of any other source for the historical part of the plot besides Guicciardini. He did not indeed make any attempt to follow his authority closely, and cared little for historical accuracy or even possibility, and certain features of the story as told in the play, such as Lucretia's marriage with Francesco di Gonzaga, her authorship of the murder of Gismond di Viselli, and her own death by poison at the hands of Alexander, are not to be found in Guicciardini. But these incidents are not historical at all and there can be little doubt that they were the invention of the author of the play himself. With the exception of a few of the less important, all the characters are taken from Guicciardini, while even those added by Barnes are in several cases furnished with names which appear in the history, though they there belong to other persons.

(2) The legend of Pope Alexander and the Devil. After considerable search I must confess my failure to discover any completely satisfactory source for this part of the plot, or to add anything of importance to what has been said on the subject by Professor Herford in his *Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, 1886, pp. 197-8.

Neglecting those historians who merely mention a league between the pope and the devil ¹, we have three accounts of the life of Alexander which approximate to the story as given by Barnes. These are as follows :

(A) In Hondorff's *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, 1568, etc (In the edition of Frankfurt, 1573, fol. 85*).

¹ Among these may be mentioned Hieronymus Marius in his *Eusebius Captivus*, Basle, c. 1553, pp. 54-6, and John Bale in the *Acta Romanorum Pontificum* (Eng. trans. by J. Studley as *The Pageant of Popes*, 1574, fol. 174).

Here we have all the essential features of the story with the following differences :

(a) The devil appears in one form alone — as a Protonotary. There is no hint of any other appearance, nor is a second devil introduced as an assistant.

(b) The terms of the agreement differ somewhat ¹. To Alexander's inquiry how long he should be pope « gab der Teuffel eine solche antwort / Das Alexander verstunde achtzehen jar vnd was aber nur eilff Jar vnd acht Monat Bapst. »

(c) Nothing is said about Alexander's death having been due to poison, the nature of his illness not being mentioned.

The closing scene with the appearance of the devil in the papal robes and his claim to be the pope, and his later appearance « in gestalt eines Postens » correspond almost verbally with Widman's version (see below). The same epitaph on Lucretia is also given.

Among a collection of satirical prints dealing with Alexander, in the British Museum (554. e. 38), is a broadside without date or heading containing a version of the story which is practically identical with that of Hondorff. Some words added at the end « Solcher grossen vnd vnerhörten lasteren schempt sich das Römische gesind gar nicht / sonder vnderstadt noch für vnd für die welt zu nerren » seem to show that this was probably issued as a protestant tract.

(B) The account given by Georg Widman in his commentary on the Faust book, 1599.

This is here reprinted at the end of the Introduction as being the nearest parallel which I have been able to discover to the story as we have it in *The Devils Charter*. It will however be seen that it differs in several minor points : I note the more important.

(a) Though in both versions the devil appears in three forms, these forms are not identical, being in Widman (1) a toad (2) a monster (3) a Protonotary, while in Barnes they are (1) a monster (2) a sergeant (3) two devils, the first in the form of a pope, the second in that of a Protonotary, or Pronotary as Barnes calls it.

(b) There is nothing in Widman about the remainder of the blood used in signing the contract being supped up by another

¹ See note on l. 352.

devil (l. 53), nor are there in fact any details at all about the manner in which the contract was signed. The signature in blood was however a commonplace for which it is unnecessary to seek any source.

(c) There is a difference in the terms of the agreement, Widman representing it as for 11 years and 8 months, while Barnes has 11 years and 8 days, in each case according to the devils interpretation of the contract. In the German there is nothing about Alexander's abstaining from making the sign of the cross (ll. 356-7), the terms of the agreement are not given in Latin, nor is the devil called Astaroth.

(d) The substitution of the poisoned wine for that which was harmless (ll. 2916-7), which was the cause of Alexander's death, is said to have been due to the mistake of a servant ; there is no suggestion in Widman's account, nor, so far as I have been able to discover, in any other except that of Barnes that it was the devil himself who changed the bottles.

(C) The only English version of the story known to me is that given in *The Estate of the Church*, 1602, a translation by Simon Patrike, Gentleman, of Jean Crespin's *l'Estat de l'Eglise*, first published in 1556.

At p. 481 of this work, under the heading « Horrible things of Roderic Borgia » appears an account of the « Conuention betwixt Sathā & Borgia » which is in many respects similar to Widman's but which differs from it in some important details. Borgia is made to promise that, if made pope, he will be « in all things a faithfull protector of Sathan ». It is specially agreed that the devil shall « not appeare vnto him in any hideous and fearefull forme, but rather vnder some humane forme, namely vnder the person of a *Protonotaire* ». In the duration of the agreement Crespin's account corresponds with that of Widman, for, to Borgia's inquiry how long he should be pope, « this *Protonotaire* deliuered him a very ambiguous answere, (namely that hee should raigne the space of eleuen and eight) the Cardinall foolishly promised himself the time of 19. yeares in his Papall dignitie, although Sathans meaning was but 11. yeares and 8. monethes ».

The account of the Pope's death is substantially the same as in Widman. The poisoning is due to a mistake of a servant, and the devil appears in the Pope's robes and later as « a Carrier or Lackey », as in the German version.

I think we may say that while Widman's account does not give us an altogether satisfactory source for this part of the plot, there is nothing in the differences between the story of Alexander in the play and that given by him which definitely forbids us to suppose that it was from this that Barnes derived his material. The chief reason which I find for suspecting another source is the apparent purposelessness of the majority of the alterations which we must on this assumption suppose him to have made. For the attribution of the changing of the bottles to the direct intervention of the devil there is indeed an evident reason, for this adds greatly to the dramatic unity of the story, but this is the only change which appears to have been dictated by such considerations. This strongly suggests that Barnes had a different version of the story before him.

(3) Demonology. The source of this seems to be the *Heptameron, seu Elementa Magica* of Petrus de Abano (1246-1320). The book was first printed in 1474¹ and there were, I believe, several editions. The only one accessible to me however is that which is added to the edition of H. C. Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy*, Per Beringos Fratres, Lugduni, n. d. (? Paris, ? 1567, according to the British Museum Catalogue)².

The *Heptameron*, which is quite a short work, occupies pp. 556-589 of the above-mentioned book. It contains lists of the spirits ruling the several seasons &c., instructions as to the manner of making a magic circle, some forms of prayer, exorcismes, and the like ; then follow the angels of the several days of the week, with the fumigations and conjurations to be used in summoning them, and, lastly, tables of the angels of the hours.

I do not find any translation of this work into English, or indeed

¹) *Nouv. Biog. Générale*, 1855 etc., I, 31 : I can find no other mention of the edition.

²) An edition by the same publishers in 1531, also in conjunction with the works of Agrippa, is recorded by Panzer, *Ann. Typog.*, vii, 351.

into any modern language, earlier than 1655, when one by R. Turner appeared together with his translation of the so-called Fourth Book of Agrippa's Occult Philosophy ¹. There is a French translation of which an edition was published at Liège in 1788, with the astonishing title *Les Œuvres Magiques de Henri-Corneille Agrippa, par Pierre d'Aban*, — astonishing because Petrus de Abano died c. 1320, whereas Agrippa was not born until 1486. A German translation is to be found in J. Scheible's *Kleiner Wunder-Schauplatz*, 1855, Thl. x.

It is not easy to say whether the edition of the *Heptameron* before me is the one which Barnes used. The name of the earth in summer is here misprinted *Festatui*, for *Festatiui*, the form, no doubt correct, which appears both in the play and in the translations. It is however possible that Barnes was able to correct the error for himself, though I can not help being somewhat sceptical as to his general knowledge of magic.

On the other hand in ll. 1764-6 we have a description of the appearance of the spirit of the Sun which may come from a passage in the so-called fourth book of the Occult Philosophy, *De Ceremoniis Magicis* ², p. 532 of the same volume, and which at first sight appears to point to the use, if not of this particular edition, at any rate to that of one which similarly contained the magical writings of Agrippa. There is however a curious point with respect to this, which I must leave to someone better acquainted with the bibliography of magical books to clear up. The *Heptameron*, after enumerating the angels of the several days of the week, omits the details of their appearance and characteristics on the ground that they have been already given in the book *De Ceremoniis Magicis*. Now it is quite obvious that this cannot have been part of the *Heptameron* as it originally stood — unless indeed the *De Ceremoniis Magicis* is far older than Agrippa : it would seem rather to be the alteration

¹) This is generally acknowledged not to be the work of Agrippa but I do not find when or by whom it was written. J. Wier in the *De Praestigis Dæmonum* calls it an « abominabilis liber nuper in lucem ab impio homine emissus », and indignantly denies that Agrippa, under whom he had studied, had any hand in it (lib. ii, cap. 5, ed. Basle, 1566, p. 141). In the same chapter he speaks of the *Heptameron*, which he describes as « pestilentissimus liber ».

of the editor who first put the works together. Further, in the French translation of the Heptameron, though not in that of Scheible, these descriptions of the appearance of the spirits are inserted in their proper places. Hence it is by no means improbable that this edition in conjunction with the works of Agrippa does not give the book in its complete form and that Barnes may have used another which did.

Two devils mentioned by Barnes are not to be found in the Heptameron, namely Astaroth (ll. 329, 2986 &c.) and Belchar (l. 2987). These however do not occur in the scene which is especially derived from Petrus de Abano, namely Act IV, sc. i, and the first of them, Astaroth, was too well known for any special source to be needed. Belchar is presumably the Belcher who occurs in Marlowe's *Faustus*, sc. iv, but I can learn nothing else about him.

In the scene between Baglioni and Frescobaldi (Act III, sc. v) we have of course mere parody of conjuring. Some of the names of the pretended fiends admit of ready explanation, of others I can make nothing.

(3) TEXT. There is only one early edition ¹ of *The Devils Charter* and it has not previously been reprinted. Extracts amounting to nearly 500 lines were however given by Grosart in his edition of Barnes' *Poems* (Occasional Issues of Unique or Extremely Rare Books), 1875, part ii, pp. xxviii-xliii, and a few specimens are to be found in Professor Herford's *Literary Relations of England and Germany*.

In preparing the present edition of the play I have used four copies of the quarto. These with the letters employed in referring to them are as follows :

- A. British Museum, C. 34. c. 3.
- B. British Museum, 162. c. 4 ².
- C. Bodleian Library, Malone 190 ³.

¹ As this is a page for page reprint there is no need to describe the quarto. I should however say that leaf M 4, which was presumably blank, is wanting in all the copies which I have seen.

² This copy has been somewhat cropped in binding, some of the running titles and catch-words having been shorn off.

³ One or two catch-words are cut off in this copy.

D. Dyce Library, South Kensington ¹.

The reprint follows as a general rule the copy first mentioned, but in the case of certain sheets I have, for reasons which are explained below, made use of copy **B**.

The four copies exhibit in a somewhat unusual degree that variation among themselves which is so frequent in books of the period. In view of the interest and importance of this question of variation both to bibliographers and to editors and of the fact that it has led me to abandon the usual course of adhering in a reprint to some one copy of the original throughout, I shall perhaps be pardoned if I devote to the matter somewhat more space than would otherwise be justifiable in an introduction of this character.

It is, I think, generally acknowledged that imperfectly corrected sheets are of far too common occurrence in early printed books for it to be possible to consider them as « proofs » in the ordinary sense of the word, there being no reason why a printer should strike off more copies than those actually required for correction, with one or two over in case of loss ². We have therefore to fall back on the theory that corrections were made during the actual process of printing off, that the author, in some cases at least, exercised a certain amount of control over the actual progress of the work, dropping in upon the printer perhaps once or twice a

¹) At the end of this copy is a page of notes in Dyce's hand. These consist of a few rather obvious emendations and a list of a certain number of the more peculiar words occurring in the play. One catch-word is cut off.

²) Without wishing to lay any stress upon it I should like to suggest a possible reason for the printing in certain cases of a greater number of « proofs ». We know that, at one time at least, the number of copies that might be printed of an ordinary book was limited by the Stationers' company to 1,250 (*Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, ii. 23, 43, 883). It is just conceivable that, in the case of a work likely to be popular, it might pay a printer to strike off an extra number of sheets before the final corrections were made, in order to evade this regulation. These might count as « waste » and not as part of the 1,250, but the printer would no doubt be able to dispose of them privately and thus reap an additional profit for himself. Or, of course, he might in this way print more copies than had been ordered by the author or stationer. In the case of a book like *The Devils Charter* it seems however hardly likely that this would have been worth while.

day, looking over the sheets as they came fresh from the press and having such errors as he noticed corrected. The proceeding seems on the face of it unlikely, though, with the more primitive methods of printing employed at the date such correction would doubtless mean much less disturbance and delay than it would at present, and of course the whole process of printing off was slower. At any rate no better explanation of these variations seems to have been suggested.

For our present purpose however the cause of these variations is of less importance than the question of how they should be treated in reprinting a book in which they occur. It seems to me unquestionable that a reprint should represent the original throughout in its most correct form. Now it cannot be supposed that in gathering the sheets of a book a binder would as a general rule pay attention to whether they were more or less corrected. He would take them, good or bad, as they came to hand. Possibly the printer might set aside a few copies of each sheet in its most correct state to be made up into copies to be presented to the authors friends or patrons, for the manuscript corrections which we sometimes find in presentation copies show that some trouble was taken to render these free from error, and possibly, if there be anything in my suggestion of extra copies being made up by the printer, there might be some which consisted wholly or almost wholly of sheets in a very incorrect state. But it seems clear that as a general rule we may expect a volume to consist of more and less corrected sheets bound up indiscriminately.

We must then, if we wish that our reprint should represent as nearly as possible what the author intended, neglect the made-up book and judge each sheet on its merits, taking one from one copy, another from another, as seems best.

But, though strictly speaking it need not concern us here, *The Diuils Charter* shows clearly that, for purposes of reprinting, even the sheet must not be considered as the unit. This is indeed sufficiently obvious when we consider the process of printing, though, so far as I am aware, it has never been pointed out and is far from being generally recognized. The completion of a sheet entails two

distinct operations, the printing of the pages called in a quarto 1, 2^v, 3, 4^v, (or 1, 4, 5, 8) from the outer forme, and the perfecting by printing 1^v, 2, 3^v, 4 (or 2, 3, 6, 7) from the inner forme. To prevent the wet ink from setting-off on the tympan sheet and from thence on the next sheet printed, a certain time must elapse between the two operations, a time which would vary with the ink employed, and possibly with the nature and dampness of the paper, but which would always be appreciable.

I must leave readers to work out for themselves the results of this interval between the two processes, saying merely that they will differ according to whether two presses or one are employed, and, in the latter case, according to the order in which the sheets are perfected¹, but I think that very little consideration will show clearly that if the outer pages of a sheet (those, I mean, printed from the outer forme) are incorrect, it by no means follows that the inner ones will be also incorrect, or vice versa : indeed, unless the correction was deferred until a very considerable proportion of the whole number of impressions required had been struck off, we should, I think, naturally expect to find that those sheets which show evidence of imperfect correction on the one side will be correct on the other².

That this is at any rate possible is well shown in *The Devils Charter*. Of the forty-eight sheets which make up the four copies which I have used only three exhibit inferior states of correction on both sides, while fourteen are more or less incorrect on one side alone.

¹) The frequency with which we find the same woodcut or ornamental initial occurring on both sides of the same sheet shows that it was at any rate quite usual for only one press to be employed. In such cases we may, I think, reasonably assume that the whole number of copies of a sheet were printed on one side before the perfecting began. The chance of a sheet being incorrect on both sides would then obviously depend on whether the perfecting was begun with the first or the last sheet printed.

²) We might perhaps find two copies of a book in one of which the outer pages of a certain sheet were incorrect and in the other the inner. In reprinting we should then have to follow one copy for certain pages, the other for others. In *The Devils Charter* this has not been necessary, as it has been possible to find for every sheet a copy which on both sides represents the fullest state of correction.

I give a table showing the condition with regard to correctness of the outer and inner pages respectively of each sheet of the four copies which I have seen ⁴. It will be understood that by « outer » I mean pages 1, 2^v, 3, and 4^v, of each sheet, and by « inner » pages 1^v, 2, 3^v, and 4. In the case of some sheets three separate states of correction are to be observed.

	most corrected	intermediate	least correct
Sheet A (outer)	ABCD		
(inner)	ABCD		
B (o)	B	CD	A
(i)	B	CD	A
C (o)	ABCD		
(i)	ABCD		
D (o)	ABCD		
(i)	ACD		B
E (o)	ABCD		
(i)	A		BCD
F (o)	AC		BD
(i)	ABCD		
G (o)	AD	B	C
(i)	ABCD		
H (o)	ABCD		
(i)	ABCD		
I (o)	AC		BD
(i)	ABCD		
K (o)	ABD		C
(i)	ABCD		
L (o)	B	CD	A
(i)	ABCD		
M (o)	ABCD		
(i)	ABCD		

⁴) In certain cases there are, as will be seen in the textual notes, slight differences between copies which I suppose to be in the same state of correction. None of these variations, however, are such as to preclude the idea of their having come about by chance during the process of printing off.

This reprint generally follows copy **A**, as in most sheets this represents the correct form ; for sheets B and L, however, copy **B** has been used, **A** being here less fully corrected. The proofs were also read with **D** throughout and the text has since been compared, though not in so leisurely a manner as I could have wished, with **C**. I have attempted to give all the readings of these four copies.

A few words should be said as to the method of this reprint. Like other works in this series it is intended to represent as accurately as possible in every respect the original, and considerable care has been taken to guard against error ¹. On account, however, of the worn condition of the type of the original and of the imperfect printing, it is, in the case of certain letters and stops, not always possible to be perfectly certain what its reading is, and, in respect of these, certain deviations from absolute exactitude must be expected and allowed. Thus the cross-bar of the letter *e* is frequently absent, owing, I suppose, to the printer clearing out the letter with a spike when it became filled up with ink, or perhaps to imperfect casting, and it is hence practically indistinguishable from *c*. In such cases when an *e* was obviously required I have given *c* only if it seemed fairly certain that the wrong letter really had been used, even though on first examination the letter appears far more like *c*. Further though roman and italic colons and semicolons have been distinguished, no attempt has been made to do this in the case of commas. In the original several founts of commas seem to have been used but it is impossible to distinguish accurately between them, roman commas have therefore been placed after roman words and italic after italic. Black letter stops, which occur occasionally in the original, have been replaced by roman.

Stage directions and signatures are placed so far as possible in the position in which they stand in the quarto, but the different proportions of the letters in the old and modern founts prevent absolute accuracy in this respect. The amount of in-setting before the speakers' names is constantly varied in the quarto. This variation has only approximately been reproduced.

¹) See, however, the list of Errata at the end.

Letters are turned only when the turning is quite evident in the original. It is generally impossible to distinguish between turned *n* and *u*, and vice versa.

Lastly, no notice has been taken of the varying spaces between words nor in general of small spaces in the words themselves owing to the presence of dirt between the letters or to imperfect justification, though this has occasionally been done when in the quarto the space was particularly noticeable.

As regards the notes I have only to say that I regret having been obliged to leave so many difficulties unsolved, but the issue of the edition has already, through my desire to obtain fresh light on certain points, been delayed several months, without any practical result, and it seems useless to keep it back longer. I hope that readers will agree with me in thinking that parts of the play are by no means free from obscurity.

It has been thought better to place the notes giving collations of the various copies by themselves as textual notes. The variations recorded are, with very few exceptions, mere misprints of no particular interest. All emendations proposed have however been placed with the explanatory notes, as being more likely to be required by the reader.

Finally it gives me much pleasure to record my indebtedness to Professor Bang and to Mr W. W. Greg for a number of valuable suggestions and notes received in the course of the work.

APPENDIX.

Der Dritte Theil Der Historien von *Doct. Johanne Fausto*, dem Ertzzeuberer vnd Schwartzkünstener. Georg Rudolff Widman. Hamburg, M. D. XCIX.

In the part dealing « Von dem grewlichen ende der Schwartzkünstler » p. 174-8 occurs the following account of Alexander VI :

Rodoricus Borgia, ein Hispanier, aus der Stadt Valentia bürtig, war erstlich ein Portuësischer Bischoff, dieser studirte in der hohen Schulen zu Bononia, hatte zween Vettern, so mit *incantationibus* vmbgiengen, zu denen gesellet er sich, vnd lehrnet es mit fleis von jhnen. Anno 1492. kam er nach absterben des Bapsts Innocentii des 8. an seine stadt, vnd wardt in der Lateranensischen Kirchen am 26. Augusti mit der Bäpstlichen kronen gezieret, vnd *Alexander Sextus* genant. Dieser Bapst Alexander war ein Maran (das ist) ein getauffter Jud, der auch in seinem Bapstumb viel gemeinschafft mit den Jüden hette, mit denen richtet er bundnus auff, vnd war auch ein grosser Saduceer. Zuuor aber ehe er Bapst war, ward er zu einem Cardinal, daher er tag vnd nacht trachtet, wie er möchte zu einem Bapst werden. Berufft derhalben mit seiner Kunst den Teuffel in einen Circkel, der erschien jhm in gestaltdt einer vngeheuren grossen erdkröten, darob er nicht wenig erschrack wie Modena sein geheimbster Raht, nach dem Todte dieses Bapsts alles erzehlet hat. Darnach beschwur er den Geist wider zum andern mahl, er solt sich zeigen in einer andern form. Da erschien jhm der Geist in Menschen gestaltdt, doch wie ein *Monstrum* mit zween Köpfen hinden vnd vornen, eim Leib, zween Füßen, vier Armen. Darob erzürnt sich der Bapst, das der Teuffel also anderst hat ercheinen müssen : wie er dann auch erschien in

Alexander
war ein
Maran.

weisz eines *Protonotarij*, vnd kam gantz willkom. Der Bapst wolt, er solte jm in allem zuwillen seyn, da legte jm dieser *Protonotarius* etliche Articul für, So er die würde vnuerbrüchlich halten, so solte er Bapst werden, vnnnd alles seinem wünsch nach, erlangen. Solches gehet er ein, vnd fragte ja wie lang? Da gab ihm der Teuffel ein solch antwort, das Alexander verstund 19. Jahr, es waren aber nur 11. Jar vnd 8. Monat. Also wardt der bundt auffgerichtet, welchen er fest hielt. Dessen gab er auch ein prob an dem guten frommen Manne *Hieronymo Sanonarola*. Dann als derselb gantz freymuhtig wider seinen bösen Wandel predigte, lies er ihn als einen Ketzer zu Florentz verbrennen. So hatte er auch sonst viel Mordts angerichtet, beydes mit eigener Handt, vnnnd dann durch seinen Sohn *Valentinum*, der gantz Italien auffrührisch machte. So widerstundt dem Bapst auch *Iacobus Caietanus*, der Cardinal *Vrsinus*, vnnnd der Abt *Aluianus*, sampt andern vielmehr, diese alle liesz er hinrichten. Er lebte in schendtlicher Vnzucht. Vnter andern, hatte er einen gleichen Sohn, der heisset *Valentinus Cæsar Borgia*, wann derselbe ein Blutbad hatte angerichtet, war das sein Sprichwort : *Aut Cæsar, aut nullus* : Bischoff oder Bader, Keyser oder nichts. Der beschlieff seine leibliche Schwester Lucretiam nicht allein, sondern der Vater Alexander selbst, der trieb mit der Tochter Bulschafft, mit welcher er auch ein mahl nackend getantzt. Von dieser Bäpstlichen Keuscheit hat man folgende Grabschrifft auff Bapsts Alexanders Bulschafft gemacht, also lautende :

Conditur hoc tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re

Thais, Pontificis filia, Sponsa, nurus.

Das ist :

Lucretia hier begraben liegt,

Thais die Huhr vbertreffend weit,

Dieweil sie weder Vater noch Bruder geschewt.

Endtlich, als dieser Bapst sein Leben mit aller Vppigkeit, Schand vnd gottlosem Leben zugebracht, war er in grosser feindschafft erwachsen mit den Cardinälen der Columnensen, die er auch gedacht hinzurichten, derhalben richtet der Bapst ein städtlich Pancketh an, berufft diese Cardinälen darzu. Er hatte aber ein

Bapsts
Alexandri
dersechsten
Schwartz-
künstlers
ende.

zugerichtetes Gifft in eine flaschen gethan, die Cardinäl darmit vmb das Leben zu bringen, befahl derhalben dem mundschencken, wann die Cardinäl truncken seyn, so soll er jnen aus dieser flaschen einschenken. Es begab sich aber, das aus irrung des Schencken, der eine flasche für die ander erwischt hette, dem Bapst vnd seinem Sohn das Gifft eingeschenckt wardt, dauon er auffgeschwal, vnnd auff den Todt kranck lag, der Sohn aber soeff Baumöl, lies sich an den Beinen empor hengen, vnd brach also wider das gyfft von sich. Der Bapst gedacht nun, es wirdt die zeit seyn, in welcher ich dem Tenffel mus meine rechen schafft geben, dann ohne zweiffel ist dieses so mir begegnet, ein angriff des Teuffels, der abfordert mein zeit vnd ziel, Derwegen er seinen getrewsten diener Modena in sein gemach oder Contur neben der Kammer schickte, der solt jhm ein Büchlein, so verguldt, holen, das liege auff dem Tisch, welches voller Schwartzter Kunst war, dann er wolle erfahren, ob er gesund werden möchte oder nicht, da der diener hinauff kam vnd die Thür auffthet, fandt er den Teuffel in des Bapsts Stul sitzen, in Bäpstlicher kleydung vnnd Pomp, also das er sehr erschrack, zeigt solches dem Bapst an, vnd auff des Bapsts anhalten, must er wider hinauff vnd erfahren, ob er jhn noch sitzende fünde. Also fandt er jhn noch, der Teuffel fragt, was er allda schaffen wolle. Gibt der diener antwort, er soll dem Bapst diss Büchlein bringen. Darauff spricht der Teuffel : *Ego Papa sum.* Ich bin der Bapst. Als diss der diener dem krancken Bapst ansagt, ist er sehr erschrocken vnnd hat die Sach angefangen zu mercken, wo es hinaus wolte, hat sich gleich in ein ander Kammer lassen tragen, damit niemand vmb jn möcht seyn, baldt kompt der Teuffel in gestaltdt eines Postens, an die hinderthür der Cammer, klopfft vngestümlich an, der wardt eingelassen, kompt zum Bapst vor das Bette, zeigt jhm an, die Jar seyn aus, er sey jetzt sein, müsse mit jhm daruon, da erhub sich ein grosser zanck zwischen jhnen, der Bapst wolte, er hette jhm 19. Jahr fristung gegeben, der Teuffel aber hette seine Arithmetick besser gerechnet, vnnd sprach: O nein lieber Compane Herr Bapst, 11. Jahr vnd 8. Monat, seynd nicht 19. Jahr, du rechnest dann die 8. Monat einen Monat für ein Jahr, sonder 11. Jar ist

deine versprechung, vnnd seyndt dannoch 8. Monat darüber. Aus welchem die vmbstehenden wol konten verstehen, das sie von der Jahrzahl kempfft hatten, also hat er jhm das Facit gemacht, vnd damit fuhr er mit dem schwartzen Engel in das Nobis hausz. An seine stadt kam Julius der 2. Der trug ein solches abschew für diesem greuwel, das er alle Thür vnd Fenster, darin seine Wapen waren, abthun liesz vnd ausbrechen.

THE
DIVILS CHARTER:
A TRAGÆDIE

Containing the Life and Death of
Pope ALEXANDER the sixth.

As it was plaide before the Kings Maiestie,
vpon Candlemasse night last: by his
Maiesties Seruants.

*But more exactly renewed, corrected, and augmented
since by the Author, for the more pleasure
and profit of the Reader.*



AT LONDON
Printed by G. E. for *John Wright*, and are to be sold at
his shop in New-gate market, neere Christ
church gate. 1607.

TO THE
HONORABLE AND HIS
VERY DEARE FRIENDS
SIR WILLIAM HERBERT,
AND SIR WILLIAM
POPE *KNIGHTS*,
ASSOCIATES IN THE
NOBLE ORDER OF
THE BATHE.

BARNABE BARNES CONSE-
CRATETH HIS LOVE.

The Tragædie of *Alexander* the 6.

PROLOGVS.

G Racious spectators doe not heere expect,
Visions of pleasure, amorous discourse :
5 Our subiect is of bloud and Tragedie,
Murther, foule Incest, and Hypocrisie.
Behold the Strumpet of proud Babylon,
Her Cup with fornication foaming full
Of Gods high wrath and vengeance for that euill,
10 Which was imposd vpon her by the Diuill.

Francis Guicchiardine.

S Ent from the Christall Palace of true *Fame*,
And bright Starre-Chamber of eternall soules,
Seuerd from Angels fellowship awhile,
15 To dwell with mortall bodies here on earth :
I *Francis Guicciardine* a *Florentine*,
Am by the powerfull and commanding Muse,
(Which beareth domination in our soules)
Sent downe to let you see the Tragedie,
20 Of *Roderigo Borgia* lately Pope,
Calld the sixt *Alexander*, with his sonne
Proud *Cæsar* : to present vnto your eyes,
Their faithlesse, fearelesse, and ambitious liues :
And first by what vngodly meanes and Art,
25 Hee did attaine the Triple-Diadem,
This vision offerd to your eyes declares.

Hee with a siluer rod mooueth the ayre three times.

Enter,

At one doore betwixt two other Cardinals, Roderigo in his purple habit close in conference with them, one of which hee guideth to a
30 *Tent, where a Table is furnished with diuers bagges of money, which that Cardinall beareth away : and to another Tent the other Cardinall, where hee deliuereth him a great quantity of rich Plate, imbraces, with ioyning of hands.* Exeunt Card. Manet Roderigo.

35 To whome from an other place a Moncke with a magical booke and
 rod, in priuate whispering with Roderick, whome the Monke
 draweth to a chaire on midst of the Stage which hee circlet, and
 before it an other Circle, into which (after semblance of reading with
 exorcismes) appeare exhalations of lightning and sulphurous smoke
 40 in midst whereof a diuill in most vgly shape : from which Roderigo
 turneth his face, hee beeing coniured downe after more thunder and
 fire, ascends another diuill like a Sargeant with a mace vnder his
 girdle : Roderigo disliketh. Hee descendeth : after more thunder
 and fearefull fire, ascend in robes pontificall with a triple Crowne
 45 on his head, and Crosse keyes in his hand : a diuill him ensuing in
 blacke robes like a pronotary, a cornerd Cappe on his head, a box of
 Lancets at his girdle, a little peece of fine parchment in his hand,
 who beeing brought vnto Alexander, hee willingly receiueth him;
 to whome hee deliuereth the wryting, which seeming to reade, pre-
 50 sently the Pronotary strippeth vpon Alexanders sleeue and letteth his
 arme bloud in a saucer, and hauing taken a peece from the Prono-
 tary, subscribeth to the parchment; deliuereth it : the remainder of
 the bloud, the other diuill seemeth to suppe vpon; and from him dis-
 robed is put the rich Cap the Tunicle, and the triple Crowne set
 55 vpon Alexanders head, the Crosse-keyes deliuered into his hands;
 and withall a magical booke : this donne with thunder and light-
 ning the diuills descend : Alexander aduanceth himselfe, and
 departeth.

Guicchiardine.

60 Thus first with golden bribes he did corrupt
 The purple conclaue : then by diuelish art
 Sathan transfigur'd like a *Pronotarie*
 To him makes offer of the triple Crowne
 For certaine yeares agreed betwixt them two.
 65 The life of action shall expresse the rest.

ACT.

ACTVS. I. SCÆN. I.

Enter marching after drummes & trumpets at two seuerall places,
King Charles of France, Gilbert Mompanseir, Cardinall of
Saint Peter ad Vincula : soldiers : encountring them Lodowik
 70 *Sforza, Charles Balbiano, the King of France and Lodowike*
embrace.

Char. Renowned Lodowik our warlike Couzen,
 Auspiciously encountred on the skirtes
 Of *Piedmont*, we greete you ioyfully.
 75 *Lodo.* Thrise and foreuer most renowned *Charles*,
 A faithfull tongue from an vnfaigned heart
 As a iust herrold full of truth and honor
 On the behalfe of forlorne *Italie*
 Needing and crauing at your Princely hands,
 80 The patronage and true protection
 Of such a Potent and victorious King
 Humbly salutes your royall Maiesty.
 The shippe of which some-time well guided state,
 Is through tempestious times malignity
 85 By worthlesse Pilots, foolish Gouerners
 Mutually factious, like to sinck through Schisme
 Into the bottome of the blacke abisme
 Through th' imposition of necessity.
 Do not ! oh do not then (most Christian *Charles*)
 90 Do not forsake hir holding vp hir hands
 For succor to your royall Clemency :
 Hir sayles are rent, mastes spent and rudder brooke
 And vnder water such wide open leakes
 As vnder water soone will make her sinke.
 95 Hauing beene bilg'd vpon so many shelues,
 So torne, so rotten and so long vnrig'd,
 And playing with the waues to and againe
 As one not gouerned with helpe of helme.
 One then whome nature in his vowes to God,
 100 Hath tied to tender her forlone estate
 With eyes fore-seeing and compassionate.

- Retenders her to your high Maiestie,
 A Christian Prince so wise so valiant :
 Vndoubted heire vnto the Crowne of *Naples*,
 105 By lawfull right of that greate house of *Aniou* :
 Of which your grace is well knowne lawfull heire,
 By th' issues of that *Charles* the first, that first
 Of the bloud royall of the Crowne of *France*,
 Obtain'd that Kingdome ages manie past.
 110 These reasons weare with *Lodowik Sforza* mou'd,
 To moue your Maiesty with martiall force
 To passe these mountaines to possesse your owne.
 March then most Christian and renowned Prince,
 Aduance thy lilly standard potent King :
 115 And since all skandalls are remou'd and cleer'd,
 Strike vp your cheerefull drummes and march along
 In Gods name ; with good auspices of Saint *Denys*,
 I know you doubt not mine integrity :
 Can more grosse error rest in pollicy.
 120 Then first to raise a turbulent sharpe storme,
 And vnaduisedly to leaue defence
 To doubtfull chance and possibilities.
 To broach strong poyson is too dangerous,
 And not be certeine of the present vertue
 125 Which is contained in his Antidot.
 Wilde fire permitted without limmit burnes,
 Euen to consume them that first kindled it :
 I did aduise you, I inducted you,
 And *Lodowike*, which brought you on with honor,
 130 Will bring you of with triumph and renowne.
Char. Embrace me Couzen *Sforza* : by the soules
 Of my forefathers I reioyce as much
 In thy deare friendship and wise industrie,
 As in the more parteof my patrimonie :
 135 Courage together let vs share all one,
 In life, in death, in purchase or in none.
Enter a Messenger with letters to Charles.
 These newes are fortunate for *Daubigny*,
 Aduertiseth how that the Colonese,

Although

140 (Although *Alfonso* did accord with them,)

Declared haue them-selues for *France* and vs,

Without dissembling or hypocrisie.

Lodo. Why this was it I did expect great *Charles*,

Our armies and our friends haue beene long sowne,

145 The ground well plowed, the blade is full come vp,

And doubt not we shall haue a ioyfull haruest.

Char. Coosen *Montpansier*

March with your regiments to *Pontremoli*.

Expect vs, or from vs directions,

150 To meete our forces, when wee come neere *Florence*,

There shall you finde the *Swisse* with their Artillerie,

Newly by sea brought vnto *Spetia*,

Come Coosen march we cheerefully together,

Faire is the way, faire fortune, and faire wether,

155 *Mompansier with some souldiers and Ensignes before.*

King Charles with Lodowike and his soldiers after.

SCENA. 2.

Enter 2. Gentlemen with Libels in their hands.

1. *Gent.* Nay such prophane and monstrous *Sodomie*,
 160 Such obscure Incest and Adultery,
 Such odious Auarice and perfidie,
 Such vinolence and brutish gluttony,
 So barren of sincere integritie.
2. *Gent.* In whom there is no shame nor veritie,
 165 Faith nor religion, but meere cruelty?
 Immoderate ambition, guilfull treacherie,
 Such prophanation and Apostacie,
 And in all falsehood such dexteritie.
1. *Gent.* As heauens detest, and men on earth distaste.
 170 2. *Gent.* Such impious sacriledge, such adulation :
 1. *Gent.* Of all good men such detestation.
 2. *Gent.* Such Magick skill, such diuillish incantation.
 1. *Gent.* Apparant figures of damn'd reprobation.
 2. *Gent.* As in all thoughts is thought abhominacion

1. *Gent.* Time

- 175 1. *Gent.* Time will out-strip vs ; for the morning starre,
 Portends the mounting of faire *Phæbus* Carre.
 2. *Gent.* Hast we, for danger drawne on by delay,
 Admits no time to tarry till cleere day.
 1. *Gent.* Fix on your Papers, these for *Alexander*
- 180 And his ambitious *Cæsar* : set on yours.
 Hale reuerent Pasquill, Idoll of veritie, *As hee fixeth on his*
 Accept these sacrifices which we bring. *papers.*
 2. *Gent.* These be sinne offrings figuring foule vice.
 Oh glorious guider of the golden Spheres,
- 185 And thou that from thy pretious lyricke strings
 Makes Gods and men in heauen and earth to dance
 With sacred touch of sweetest harmony :
 Pitty these times, by whose malignitie,
 We loose our grace, and thou thy dignity.
- 190 1. *Gent.* High Muse, which whilome vertues patronized,
 In whose eternall rowles of memory
 The famous acts of Princes were comprized
 By force of euer-liuing Historie :
 What shall wee doe to call thee backe againe ?
- 195 True Chronicler of all immortall glory,
 When here with mortall men nought is deuiss'd,
 But how all stories with foule vice to staine :
 So that alas thy gracious Oratorie,
 Which with meere truth and vertue simpathez'd,
- 200 Is silent ; and wee Poets now with paine,
 (Which in *Castalian* Fountaines dip'd our quilles)
 Are forc'd of mens impietie to plaine ;
 And well thou wotest, wrought against our wills,
 In rugged verse, vile matters to containe :
- 205 And herein lurkes the worst of mortall ill,
 That *Rome* (which should be Vertues Paradiſe)
 Bare of all good, is wilderness of vice.
 2. *Gent.* How luculent and more conspicuous
 Euen then the sunne, in clearest Maiestie,
- 210 His vehement and more then hellish thirst
 Soaring to pearch vpon the spire of honour
 Displaies his bastard wings : and in that nest

Where

Where princely Fawlccons, or *Ioues* kingly Birds,
Should hatch their young ones, plants his rauenous Harpies,
215 His gracelesse, impious, and disastrous sonnes,
Euen in the soueraigne Chaire of domination.

1. *Gent.* But chiefly one, that diuelish Cardinall,
Proud *Cæsar*, farst, with fierce impietie :
His Oracle and instrument of shame
220 In all nefarious plotts and practises,
Is now become as wicked as himselfe :
But hast we now, least any should suspect vs.

2. *Gent.* Much conference with *Pasquill* may detect vs.

Exeunt.

225

SCÆNA. 3.

Enter Gismond di Visselli, and after him Barbarossa.

Bar. *Dio vi guarda Signior illustrissimo* : whether in such hast
my noble Lord thus early ?

Gis. *Signior Barbarossa* in happy time well encountred, for I
230 haue some businesse this morning with my brother the Duke
of *Candie*, wherein I would both vse your counsell and coun-
tenance.

Bar. My good Lord *Viselli*, the countenance of your deuoted
poore friend, is of lesse value then his counsell, yet both of very
235 small validity : such as they be, with his life and best fortunes he
sincerely sacrificeth all to your seruice.

Gis. Pardon mee deere sir no seruice more then reciprocally,
and in due partie betwixt vs, and since wee be so neere it, let vs
not passe *Pasquill* without an *Aue* : what scandalous hyerogly-
240 phickes haue wee heere ?

A. S. P. M.

Auaritia, Superbia, Perfidia, Malitia,
Alexander, Sextus, Pontifex, Maximus.

Against my Lord the Popes holinesse such blasphemous impu-
245 dence, such intollerable bitterness !

M. P. S. A. These are the same letters with the first begin-
ning at the last, *Magnum Petrum Sequitur Antichristus. Phy*
Diabolo, our blessed *Alexander* (being *Saint Peters* successor)
this diuilish libeller calls *Antichrist*.

B

Bar.

250 *Bar.* Pause there my Lord a litle, some-what here concernes
my Lord the Cardinall *Borgia*.

Gis. Read it good *Barbarossa*.

Bar. *Alexander Cæsarem suum Galero et purpura donauit vt
menstruoso spiritus sui veneno, vniuersum simul conclaue suffocaret.*

255 *Gis.* Oh most intollerable abhomination ?

Bar. *Allexander* adopted his sonne *Cæsar* into the fellow-
ship of Cardinalls, that he with the menstruous poyson of his
breath might choake the whole Conclaue.

Gis. By the blessed alter of Saint *Pectet* this villanie surpasseth
260 patience.

Bar. My Lord here's a long libell.

Gis. Read it good *Barbarossa* : more mischeife of my wife, nay
read it.

Bar. *Quid mirum ? Romæ facta est Lucretia Thais,*
265 *Vnica Alexandri filia, sponsa nurus.*

The same in effect inseueth.

Welcome good Post from *Rome* tell vs some newes,
Lucrece is turned *Thayis* of the stewes :

In whome her father *Alexander* saw,

270 His onely daughter, wife, and daughter in law,
Shall I read on my Lord ? here is much more.

Gis. Nay read out all, it is but of a whore.

Bar. *Francesco di Gonsaga* was the first,
That married *Lucrece Alexanders* daughter,

275 And yet the Pope those baines of bridale burst,
And made of marriage sacrament a laughter,
His reason was because that fellow poore,
Lackt maintenance for such a noble whore.

Gis. Malignant aspect of vngratious stars,
280 Why haue you poynted at my miseries ?

Bar. Haue patience good my Lord and here the rest,

Gis. *Patienza per forza*, but this wounds to th' quick.

Bar. *Iohn Sforza* now Lord *Marques of Pescara*,
Was second husband to this ioly dame,

285 Of natures faculties he being bare,
In like state with his predecessor came,
Because he, when he should haue writ his mind,

Paper well might; but pen or incke none finde.

Gis. Oh villainies of monstrous people,

290 Fashions and times deformed and vnseasonable,

Bar. Yet my Lord a little haue patience in your
owne cause.

Gis. Mallice performe thy worst least comming late,
I with anticipation crosse that fate. Read it, toot man.

295 *Bar. Gismond Viselli*, nobly descended,

Is for his shamefull match much discommended.

For neuer was the shamelesse *Fuluia*,

Nor *Lais* noted for so many wooers,

Nor that vnchast profuse *Sempronia*.

300 A common dealer with so many dooers,

So proud, so faithlesse, and so voyd of shame,

As is new brodell bride *Lucretia*.

Take to thee *Gismond* both the skorne and shame,

And liue long iealous of *Lucretia*,

305 With pushing hornes keepe out all commers in,

For now thy mortall miseries begin.

Gis. Mortall miseries? but we are all mortall,

Fortune I scorne thy malice, and thy meed,

Keepe them vp safe that I may shew them to his holines,

310 Is this the licence which our citty *Rome*

Hath giuen to beastly *Bardes*, and satyrists,

Ribbaldly Rimesters, and malicious curs,

To leaue no state of Church nor seculer,

Free from their ordure, and polution.

315 Good *Barbarossa* beare me Company :

Exile and Punishment for such base poets,

And stripes with wiery scourges were too litle.

Which breathing here in *Rome*, and taking grace :

From the faire Sunne-shine of this hemisphere,

320 Contaminate that ayre with their vile breath.

Obumbrating this light by which they liue,

If these were truth : this times impietie,

May soone sincke downe vnder the diety.

Excunt.

SCÆN. 4.

325 Alexander in his study with bookes, coffers, his triple
Crowne vpon a cushion before him.

Alex. With what expence of money plate and iewels
This Miter is attayn'd my Coffers wnesse :
But *Astaroth* my couenant with thee

330 Made for this soule more pretious then all treasure,
Afflicts my conscience, O but *Alexander*
Thy conscience is no conscience ; if a conscience,
It is a leoprouse and poluted conscience.
But what? a coward for thy conscience?

335 The diuill is wnesse with me when I seald it
And cauteriz'd this conscience now seard vp
To banish out faith, hope and charity ;
Vsing the name of Christian as a stale
For *Arcane* plots and intricate designes

340 That all my misty machinations
And Counsels held with black *Tartarian* fiends
Were for the glorious sunne-shine of my sonnes ;
That they might mounte in equall paralel
With golden maiesty like *Saturnes* sonne

345 To darte downe fire and thunder on their foes.
That, that was it, which I so much desir'd
To see my sonnes through all the world admir'd,
In spight of grace, conscience, and *Acharon*
I will reioyce, and triumph in my Charter.

350 Alexander readeth.
*Sedebis Romæ Papa, summa in fælicitate tui et
Filiorum annos II. et 7. dies 8. post moriere .
Prouiso quod nunquam te signes tremendæ
Crucis signo.*

355 *Astaroth.*

The diuill prouideth in his couenant
I should not crosse my selfe at any time ;
I neuer was so ceremonious.
Well this rich Miter thought it cost me deare

360 Shall make me liue in pompe whilst I liue heere.

Holla *Bernardo*?

He tinneth a bell.

Call hether my two sonnes the Duke of *Candy* and the
Cardinall of *Valence*.

Happie those sonnes whom fathers loue so well

365 That for their sakes they dare aduenture hell.

*Enter the Duke of Candy and Cæsar Borgia
striving for priority.*

Come my deare sonnes the comfort of my life
Yours is this earthly glory which I hold.

370 Cannot the spacious boundes of *Italy*

Diuided equally containe you both ?

From *France* and *Swisserland* I will beginne

With *Naples* and those Townes in *Peadmont*

And all the signories in *Lombardy*

375 From *Porto di Volane* to *Sauona*

And *Genes* on th' other side of *Italy*

Vpon the *Mediterranean* towards *Greece* ;

Allotted *Candy* for his patrimony.

And in *Romania* from *Pontremoli*

380 And *Prato* to faire *Florence* ; and from thence

In *Tuskany* within the Riuer *Narre*

And fruitfuil *Arno* those sweete Prouinces

Euen to *Mont Alto*, *Naples*, *Policastro*

And *Petrasilia* in *Calabria*

385 The furthest horne of *Italy* for *Cæsar*.

Gaine dubble strength with your vnited loues

Loue one another boies you shal be Kings :

Fortune hath beene auspicious at my birth

And will continue gracious to mine end.

390 *Castor* and *Pollux* would not liue in Heauen

Vnlesses they might be stellified together,

You for a little-turfe of earth contend

When they together shine the welkin cleeres :

And gentle gales beare fourth the winged sailes,

395 But when they shine a parte they threaten stormes

And hiddeous tempests to the Marriners

Castor would not be called but *Pollux Castor*

And *Castor Castors Pollux* : so my *Candy*

- Be *Cæsars Candy, Cæsar, Candies Cæsar*,
 400 With perfect loue, deare boyes loue one another
 So either shal be strengthened by his brother.
Cæ. Most blessed reuerend and renowned father,
 The loue by nature to my brother *Candy*,
 Enforceth me some-times in plainer sort
 405 To cleere my conscience issuing from pure loue,
 It is meere loue which mooues these passions,
 When I do counsell or aduise your good.
Ca. I know deere brother when your counsell tends
 Vnto my good, it issueth from pure loue.
 410 *Cæ.* As when I tax your princely conscience
 Like an vnпитыtted penitentie,arie,
 Brother with reuerence of his Holinesse
 Your heart is too much spic'd with honesty.
Alex. I and I feare me he will find it so,
 415 Your brother *Cæsar* tells you very true :
 You must not be so ceremonious
 Of oathes and honesty, Princes of this world
 Are not prickt in the bookes of conscience,
 You may not breake your promise for a world :
 420 Learne this one lesson looke yee marke it well,
 It is not alwaies needfull to keepe promise,
 For Princes (forc'd by meere necessity
 To passe their faithfull promisses) againe
 Forc'd by the same necessity to breake promise.
 425 *Cæ.* And for your more instructiōs learne these rules !
 If any Cedar, in your forrest spread,
 And ouer-peere your branches with his top,
 Prouide an axe to cut him at the roote,
 Suborne informers or by snares intrap
 430 That King of Flies within the Spiders Webbe ;
 Or els insnare him in the Lions toyles.
 What though the multitude applaud his fame :
 Because the vulgar haue wide open eares
 Mutter amongst them and possesse their hearts
 435 That his designements wrought against the state
 By which yea wound him with a publicke hate.
 So let him perish, yet seeme pittifull

- Cherrish the weakenesse of his stocke and race
 As if alone he meritted disgrace
 440 Suffer your Court to mouerne his funeralls,
 But burne a bone-fire for him in your Chamber.
Alex. Cæsar deliuereth Oracles of truth.
 Tis well sayd *Cæsar*, yet attend a little,
 And binde them like rich bracelets on thine armes
 445 Or as a precious iewell at thine eare.
 Suppose two factious Princes both thy friends
 Ambitious both, and both competitors,
 Advance in hostile armes against each other
 Ioyne with the strongest to confound the weake
 450 But let you wars foundation touch his Crowne,
 Your neerest Charity concernes your selfe ;
 Els let him perish ; yet seeme charitable.
 Liuely dissemble faith and holinesse,
 With clemencie the milke of Maiestie :
 455 As if you were meerely compos'd of vertue :
 Beleeue me *Candy* things are as they seeme,
 Not what they be themselues ; all is opinion :
 And all this world is but opinion.
 Looke what large distance is twixt Heauen and Earth,
 460 So many leagues twixt wealth and honesty :
 And they that liue puling vpon the fruits
 Of honest consciences ; starue on the Common.
Cæsar can tell thee this in ample sorte.
 And *Cæsar* loue him, loue him hartily ;
 465 Though mildenesse do possesse thy brother *Candia*.
 It is a gentle vice, vicining vertue.
Can. Vnder correction of your Holinesse,
 Those warres which vertue leuies against vice,
 Are onely knowne to some particulers
 470 Which haue them wrytten in their consciences.
 Those are the same they seeme, and in such warres
 Your sonne shall make remonstrance of his valour,
 And so become true Champion of the Church.
Cæs. It is the precious Ornament of Princes
 475 To be strong hearted, proud, and valiant,
 But well attemptred with callidity,

Brother with reuerence of his holinesse
 (Whose sacred words like blessed Oracles
 Haue pointed at your prudence) *Cæsar* would
 480 Haue giuen the like aduise : but (in conclusion)
 Vndoubtedly to worke out thy confusion.

Enter Barnardo.

Ale. Vpon my blessing follow *Cæsars* counsell;
 It tendeth to thy glory.

485 *Bern.* Most blessed Lord,
 Embassadors from *Ferdinande* of *Naples*
 Arriued heere attend your holinesse.

Ale. This is a welcome messenger for *Godfrey*,
 To make a marriage with the Lady *Saunce* :

490 And *Candy* for so much as this requires
 A ioyfull entertainment ; take that honor
 And bid him welcome with due complements.
 Shew courteous, language laudable apporte ;
 Let them be feasted in more sumptuous sort

495 Then ordinary messengers of state :
 Obserue his speeches, fathome his designes ;
 And for I know thy nature tractable,
 And full of courtesie : shew courtesie
 And good intreatie to them : *Gentle Candie*

500 Now shew thy selfe a polititian ;
 I neede not giue thee large instructions ;
 For that I know thee wise, and honorable
 Greeete them from vs : *Cæsar* shall at a turne
 Giue correspondence to thy courtesie :

505 I as well sitteth with my state and honor
 Within these ten daies wil admit them hearing :
 Meane while learne out by lore of policie
 The substance of their motions, that we may
 Be better arm'd to giue them resolution.

510 *Can.* Your holinesse in this shall see my skill,
 To do you seruice, *Exit Candy.*

Alex. *Cæsar* now to thee.

This taske vpon thy shoulders onely leanes ;
 I rest vpon thee *Cæsar* : were it not

- 515 That thou must second it, or first it rather
 I durst not trust such things of consequence,
 To feeble spirits : therefore from our stables
 Six *Persian* Coursers arm'd and furnished
 With rich Caparisons of gold and Pearle,
 520 With six rich Complet Armors for their saddles,
 And such a Cabbinet of pretious Iewels
 As we shall choose within to morrow morning
 Present from vs in token of our loue.
 Let for no cost in sumptuous banqueting,
 525 Beleeue me *Cæsar* some-times at a banquet,
 More ground is got then at a bloody battell.
 Worme out their humors, fathom their delights,
 If they delight in that which *Naples* couets,
 Fine, witty, loue-sick, braue, and beautifull,
 530 Eloquent, glancing, full of fantasies.
 Such Sugar harted *Syrens*, or such Commets,
 As shine in our imperiall state of *Rome*,
 True pick-locks in close wards of policie,
 Present them with the Paragons of *Rome* :
 535 And spare not for a Million in expence,,
 So long as here they keepe their residence.
Cæsar. *Cæsar* in such a case will prooe true *Cæsar*,
 Wise, franke, and honorable.
Alex. I doubt it not :
 540 And *Cæsar*, (as thou doost imbrace my loue,
 More then the world besides) accomplish this,
 And wee shall *Cæsar* with high blessings blisse, *Exit*
Cæs. By this time is my faire *Lucretia*,
 Befitted for a businesse of bloud,
 545 Neerely concerning her estate and mine. *Exit*.

SCÆ. 5.

*Enter Lucretia alone in her night gowne vntired,
 bringing in a chaire, which she planteth
 vpon the Stage.*

- 550 *Luc*. *Lucretia* cast off all seruile feare,

C

Reuenge

- Reuenge thy selfe vpon thy iealous husband
 That hath betraid thine honor, wrong'd thy bed :
 Feare not ; with resolution act his death :
 Let none of *Borgias* race in policies
 555 Exceed thee *Lucrece* : now proue *Cæsars* Sister,
 So deepe in bloody stratagems as hee :
 All sinnes haue found examples in all times.
 If womanly thou melt then call to minde,
 Impatient *Medeas* wrathfull furie,
 560 And raging *Clitemnestraes* hideous fact :
Prognos strange murther of her onely sonne,
 And *Danaus* fifty Daughters (all but one)
 That in one night, their husbands sleeping slew.
 My cause as iust as theirs, my heart as resolute,
 565 My hands as ready. *Gismond* I come,
 Haild on with furie to reuenge these wrongs
 And loue impoison'd with thy iealousie,
 I haue deuised such a curious snare,
 As iealous *Vulcan* neuer yet deuise'd,
 570 To graspe his armes vnable to resist,
 Deaths instruments inclosed in these hands.
Shee kneeleth downe.
 You griesly Daughters of grimme *Erebus*,
 Which spit out vengeance from your viperous heires,
 575 Infuse a three-fold vigor in these armes ;
 Imarble more my strong indurate heart,
 To consumate the plot of my reuenge.
Shee riseth and walketh passionately.
Enter Gismond di Viselli vntrussed in his
 580 *Night-cap, tying his points.*
 Heere comes the subiect of my Tragedy.
Gis. What my *Lucretia* walking alone ?
 These solitarie passions should bewray
 Some discontentment, and those gracious eyes
 585 Seeme to be moou'd with anger, not with loue :
 Tell me *Lucretia*, may thy *Gismond* know ?
Luc. Demaundst thou the cause iniurious *Gismond* ?
 When like a recluse (shut vp from the world)

- I liue close prisoner to thy iealousie ?
- 590 The' *Esperian* Dragons kept not with more watch,
The golden fruit, then thou my fatall beauty :
Thou wouldst exlude me from the sight of Sunne,
But that his beames breake through some creuisies
Thou wouldst debarre me from the common ayre,
- 595 But that against my will I suck it in,
And breath it out in scalding sighes againe :
Were I in *Naxos* where no noise is heard
But *Neptunes* rage, no sights but ruthellesse rocks.
Or in the *Libian* deserts, or exchange'd
- 600 This Hemisphere of *Rome* for th' *Antipodes*,
Were not so grieuous as to dwell in *Rome*,
Banish'd from sight and conference of friends.
Gis. Blam'st thou my iealousie ? nay blame thy beauty,
And loue imprison'd in those amorous lookes :
- 605 I feare the Sunnes reflections on thy face,
Least he more wondring at thy precious eyes,
Then any *Nimphes* which he most honored,
Should beare thee to some other *Paradice*,
And rob me, silly man, of this worlds ioy.
- 610 I feare the windes, least amorous *Ioue* in them,
(Enuying such pretious nature amongst men)
With extreame passion hence should hurry thee.
Oh loue is full of feare : all things I feare,
By which I might be frustrate of thy loue.
- 615 *Luc.* Scoffist thou mee *Gismond* with continuall taunts ?
Oh God of heauens, shall I both suffer shame
And scorne, with such dispisd captiuitie.
Gis. Here in the presence of the powers in Heauen,
I doe not speake in scorne, but in meere loue :
- 620 And further *Lucrese*, (of thy clemencie,
For loue, and beautie, both are riche in bountie)
Forgiue me what is past, and I will sweare,
Neuer to vex thee with more iealousie.
- Luc.* Thou wilt forswear thy selfe : *Gismond* come hither ?
- 625 Sit downe and answer me this question. *Gismond sitteth downe
in a Chaire. Lucretia on a stoole beside him.*

- When I bestowed on thee this diamond
 A Iewell once held precious as my life;
 And with it cast away my selfe on thee
 630 Didst thou not promise to maintaine mine honour,
 Neither in word nor deed to giue suspect
 Of thy dislike; and hast thou not since then
 In presence of my neerest Noble friends
 Rebuk'd me like a *Layis* for my lightnesse?
 635 And as a miser lockes his mony vp
 So me restraind from speech and sight of them?
Gis. When first thou didst bestow this Diamond,
 It had a precious lustre in mine eye :
 And was possest of vertue, when I vow'd
 640 To maintaine that, which was impossible :
 But since that time this stone hath had a flaw,
 Broken within the ring, his foile growne dimme,
 The vertue vanisht, and the luster lost.
She graspeth him in his chaire.
 645 *Luc.* I can no longer brooke these base rebukes.
 These taunting riddles, and close libellings
Gis. Oh helpe I am strangled.
She stoppeth his mouth, pulleth out his
dagger and offereth to gagge him.
 650 *Lu.* Peace wretched villaine, then recieue this quickly :
 Or by the liuing powers of heauen ile kill thee.
She gaggeth him, and taketh a paper out of her boosome.
 Take pen and incke : tis not to make thy will;
 For if thou wilt subscribe, I will not kill.
 655 Tis but to cleere those scandalls of my shame,
 With which thy iealousie did me defame.
Gismonde subscribeth.
 So now that part is playd, what followes now?
 Thou Ribbault, Cuckcold, Rascall, Libeller,
 660 Pernicious Lecher voide of all performance;
 Periurious Coxcombe, Foole, now for those wrongs
 Which no great spirit could well tollerate
 Come I, with mortall vengeance on thy soule.
 Take this for sclandring of his Holinesse

- 665 My blessed father and my brother *Cesar* *She stabbeth*
 With incest : this take for my brother *Candy* :
 And this for Noble *Sphorza* whom thou wrongest ;
 And since the time is shorte I will be shorte :
 For locking vp of me, calling me whore,
 670 Setting espialls tending at my taile ;
 Take this, and this & this to make amends. *three stabs together.*
 And put thee from thy paines ;
She vbindeth him, layeth him on the ground, putteth the dagger
in his hand, a paper on his knee, & taking certaine papers out of his
 675 *pocket putteth in others in their steede : & cōuaieeth away the chaire*
 Now will my father *Alexander* say
 That I did take the best and safest way,
 And *Cesar* will approue it with his heart,
 That *Lucrece* hath perform'd a cunning parte.
 680 If others aske who *Gismonde* kild or why
 It was himselfe repenting iealousie. *Exit Lucretia.*
Barbarossa knocketh at a dore.
Bar. Holla within there ?
 Why fellowes ?
 685 *Seruingman.* Heere my Lord.
Bar. What is my Lord *Viselli* stirring yet ?
 My Lord the Pope expects him ; and the ambassadors
 Of *Naples* craue his company. *Enter Bar. and Seruingman.*
Ser. My Lord I haue not seene him yet this morning.
 690 *Bar.* Is not your Lady *Lucrce* stirring yet ?
Ser. No my good Lord I thinke shee be not yet come from
 her chamber, her custome is not to be seene so soone.
Bar. Tis well, tis wel, let her take ease in gods name,
 But make hast, call vp my Lord thy maister honest fellow.
 695 *Ser.* With patience of your Lordship I will speake :
 For three daies space I did finde in my Lord
 Passionate motions, and strange melancholie
 'T may be his solitude hath drawne him forth,
 I will first looke the garden and the galleries.
 700 *Bar.* Do my good friend I will expect thee in this parler here ?
As Barbarossa goes on hee findeth Viselli murthe-
red vpon the ground, and starteth.

Fellow

- Fellow come backe, come back, fellow come back :
 Your Lord lies murthred here, call vp your Lady ;
 705 Call in your fellow seruants. *Deh Santa Croce.*
 This dagger grasped in his fatall hand
 Reueales some violence, wrought on himselfe :
 Could nature so much violate her selfe ?
 Was it not wrought by bloody *Borgiaes* race ?
 710 I doubt in this the diuills hypochrisie,
 Iustice of Heauens firme and inscrutable
 Reueale it, oh reueale it in thy mercy.

Enter Lucrecia with Moticilla.

- Luc.* Where is my Lord ? my deare Lord ?
 715 *Bar.* Tarry Lady.
 Approch not neere this ruthfull spectacle ;
 Approch not neere this spectacle of bloud,
 This ruthfull spectacle of bloud and death,
 Least suddaine horror of these bleeding wounds
 720 Wound thy distracted spirits to pale death.
Luc. What horror or what mortall spectacle,
 Vpon such suddaine hath astonished me ?
 Oh my deere Lord : *Viselly* speake to me :
 Oh most disastrous accident and houre ;
 725 Ay me most wretched and vnfortunate,
 My deerest Lord the treasure of my life,
 The sweetest paradice of my best hopes,
 Is murthred : seeke out the murtherers
 Leaue not vnseartcht a corner nor a Crany :
 730 Locke vp the dores there, least that homicide
 Escape vs in this passion —————

Bar. Haue patience Lady,
 Heauens will reueale the murther doubt it not.

- Luc.* Ah Noble *Barbarossa* much I feare
 735 Now with these eyes I see the murtherer,
 Staind with the guilt of nature ; oh my Lord
 You little know that these weake womans hands
 Twise rescued haue the violence of his
 From killing of himselfe before this time :
 740 Oh fie vpon the diuill, and melancholy ;

Which

Which leaue me desolate a forelorne widdow.

Mot. Madam these papers will bewray some matter.

Luc. Oh might I finde an other murtherer.

Bar. These do containe some matter read them Lady.

745 *Luc.* My heart swolne vp with sorrow, lends no light

Vnto mine eyes, nor force vnto my tongue

To see one letter, or to reade one word,

I pray you reade it good Lord *Barbarossa*.

Barbarossa readeth.

750 I *Gismond di Viselli* through desperate grieffe conceiued in iealousie (which I bare against my Lady *Lucrecia* hauing found out by much triall, and examination her faithfulnesse and innocency, make this my protestation as the last piacular oblation to her for those wrongs that with mine own vnfortunate hands

755 I haue ended my life, desiring her and all others to forgiue me, and pray for me, subscribed with mine owne hand, and sealed with my seale. *Gismond de Viselli.*

Il veleuo d'amore,

A me trafisse il cuore.

760 *Mot.* Oh Lord of heauens haue pardon on his soule.

Luc. This is his hand and seale, speake now my Lord :

Did not I soone disclose the murtherer ?

Told I not that the murtherer was present ?

Ah neuer neuer shall I liue to see. *she soundeth.*

765 *Bar.* Comfort you selfe deere Lady God will send succor
Your husband hath paied deerely for these wrongs.

Luc. Giue me my Lord againe, death shall not haue him,

Come my deere *Gismond*, come againe my ioye :

Delay me not least I preuent thy loue

770 I cannot brooke delay's, *Lucrece* shall follow.

*Lucrece offereth to stab her selfe Barbarossa
preuenteth her.*

Bar. Tempt not Gods iustice Lady, fall to praier,
Helpe, in there, take your Lord out of her sight.

775 *Luc.* Oh my deare friends that see my miseries,

I you beseech in dearest tendernesse

Bring in the body of my dearest Lord ;

That

That I before my death may (with these eyes)
Behold him honor'd in his obsequies.

780 *Bar.* And I wil beare these papers to his Holines,
Whose sorrow wil exceed for *Gismonds* death. *Exeunt.*

Enter Guicchiardin.

Cho. Thus foule suspition, feare and iealousie
Of shame, dishonor, and his wiues hot lust,
785 Hath seiz'd vpon *Viselli*; whose reuenge,
Was to restraîne *Lucrece* from Company.
But swelling pride, and lust, both limitles,
Answer'd his louing feare and shame with death.
Attend the sequell. Now successiue
790 (After such warlike preparations,
So many firme hopes found in *Italy*)
King *Charles* with fiftene hundred men at armes,
Three thousand Archers, with six thousand *Swisse*.
French men, and *Gascons* twice as many more,
795 With martiall measures, ouer *Piemont*
Treads a long march after his drums and fife,
With *Milans* force, and now his trumpets hard,
Vnto the gates of *Rome* giue fresh allarms,
Vnto the Pope, who stirreth vp in armes,

800

ACT. 2. SCÆ. I.

Enter Alexander with a Lintstock in his hand; with him
Cæsar Borgia, Caraffa, Bernardo Piccolomini,
the Castilian, Gassper de fois Mr. of the
ordinance.

805 *Alex. Castillian* take fue hundred harguebusse,
Two hundred Arbalastes, and fortifie,
Vpon the tower of Saint *Sebastian*,
Affronting that port where prowde *Charles* should enter,
Call'd *Santa Maria di Popolo*.

810 *Pic.* Our souldiers ready be with match in cocke,
T'attend this seruice, and our scurriers,
Are now return'd hauing discryd King *Charles*,
His ensigns and his Cornets proudly mand,

With

- With plumed regiments, and troopes of horse,
 815 Marching in glory to the gates of *Rome*. *Exit Piccolo.*
Alex. Brauely bring on your companies bold hearts,
Gaspar de Foix, are those two *Basiliskes*,
 Already mounted on their carriages?
Gaspar. They bee.
- 820 *Alex.* We make you maister of our Ordinance, *He deliuereth*
 And on the Turret of Saint *Adrian*. *his Linstock.*
 Plant six more Cannon, and foure Culuerings,
 Foure Lizards, and eight Sacres, with all speed,
 Take Gunners with you to the Cittadell,
- 825 Powder and shot, with Ladles for their charge,
 See none be wanting; set them to their taske.
 Haue a good care your Pyoners worke hard,
 To further your fortifications. *Exit Gasper.*
Cæs. Pleaseth your Holinesse to giue me leaue,
- 830 It fitteth well with our owne purposes,
 To giue *Charles* entrance, and without restraint,
 Least he by rigor should vsurpe that leaue,
 Which to resist were vaine and dangerous.
 Beleeue me Father we must temporize.
- 835 *Caraff.* Besides you see how the *Calabrian Duke*,
 Out of the Port of Saint *Sabastian*,
 Not one houre past, hath issued and left *Rome*.
 Now though you do suspect, conceale all doubts :
 For you shall finde this sure and commonly,
- 840 Dangers accompany suspition,
Alex. We will embrace that course, but with your leaue,
 In *Castle Angelo* Capitulate :
 Standing (as best befits vs) on our garde.

- Enter Piccolomini, Gasper de Foix, with small shot*
 845 *Ensigne, Drummes and Trumpets.*

- Piccol.* Tis time your Holinesse tooke to your guard,
 For Potent *Charles* (like one that conquereth)
 Arm'd at all peeces, in his plumed caske,
 And with a Launce resting vpon his thigh,
 850 Already with his forces hath possest

The suberbs, and is now come to the gates.

Ale. We are resolued : *Gasper de fois* take heed,
On paine of death no souldier be so bould
As to dischardge one peece or arbalast,
855 Before th'alarme being giuen from them,
Wee with a culuering from Castle *Angelo*,
Proclame hostility : troope on a pace,
Take we what fortune peace or warre affords,
The worst of resolution is with swords.

860 *Exeunt with drums and trumpets.*

Enter with drums and trumpets : King Charles,
Cardinall Saint Peter ad vincula, and As-
canio, Lodwick Sforza : Mompan-
sier ensignes, souldiers.

865 *Charles* Thus far with much applause in ioyfull martch,
With good successe and hopefull augurie,
We marched haue within the walls of *Rome*,
Not litle wondering that his Holines,
Doth giue such slender welcome to our troup.

870 *Lod.* Your maiesty may well perceauie how feare,
And iealeous iudgement of a wounded conscience,
Workes hard in *Alexander*.

Asc. And how foxe-like.

(Houlding newtrality the surest gard)

875 He coopes himselfe in Castle *Angelo*.

Mon. Pleaseth your maistie to giue a summons,
Vnto the Castle for some parliance,
Vpon such articles as were set downe,

Char. Come we wil touch him, summon forth a parle.
880 *sound drum answer a trumpet,*

Enter Piccolomini vpon the walls.

What office beare you marching on those walls,
We made no summons to confer with you.

Pic. Most Christian prince pleaseth your mightines,
885 I am Castillian of Saint *Angelo*, Vnder his Holines.

Char. To bid defiance to our forces?

Pic. Noe most gracious Lord,
But to salute you from his Holines.

Mom-

Mon. What is he sicke?

890 *Pic.* Not very well dispos'd,

S. Pe. ad vin. Nor euer was, nor will be well dispos'd.

Cha, An other summons for his Holines, *Exit Piccol,*
Sound drums, answere trumpet.

Alexander upon the walls in his pontificalls betwixt Caesar Borgia
 895 and Caraffa Cardinalls, before him the Duke of Candie bearing a sword, after them Piccolomini Gasperdefois.

Ale. Most Christian Charles, here I salute your grace,

Bidding you peaceably welcome to Rome,

If you bring peace along with you to Rome.

900 *Char.* In filiall Loue I thanke your Holines,

We litle thought it our most holy father,

That our alegeance to the Church of Rome,

Which we with all our predecessors tendred,

Should haue enforc'd you to take sanctuary.

905 *Alex.* Sonne Charles know then we tooke not to this place,

In feare as to some refuge or asyle :

But for asmuch as news were brought in post,

That you with all your forces did approach,

Arm'd and in hostile manner to this Citty,

910 The Conclaue thought it fit tendring the safty,

Of holy Church, and sacred priuiledge,

To know your meaning first, and then with pomp,

To make your welcome in Saint Peters pallace,

In the best fashion with due ceremonies.

915 *Char.* Know then most holy father what we would,

Hauing in tedious marcht from France thus far,

Past with our forces God stil guiding vs,

(As we be deeply bound by lawes of nature.

And reason to worke surely for our right)

920 We left noe busie doubts, nor obstacles,

Which might preuent vs in our iust imprease,

Hence was it that we did Capitulate,

So strictly with the crafty Florentines,

Whome we well knew fauour'd Alphonsoes part.

925 And this made Venice ioyne in league with vs.

Yet hauing notice that your Holines.

Both with *Alphonso* (that vsurpes my Crowne)
 And his sonne *Ferdinand* drue deeper in
 Vpon considerations of more weight ;

930 We thought it good to take *France* in our way.

Lod. And there to craue some certaine Cautions
 Of your indifferency to his iust title

Had in the Crowne of *Naples* : therefore first

We do require (if you these parties tender,

935 (As your late letters did importe) yeeld vp

In Caution of your good intent to *France* ;

This Castle which you now retaine against vs.

Can. Why *Lodowick* ? the wethercocke is turnd,
 The winde stands faire, but how long will that hold ?

940 So may we put in hazard our whole Church

The deere estate of Christes flock militant

And bring confusion vnto Christendome.

Alex. So may you seaze vpon the Churches rights,
 If that we should referre all to your trust.

945 *Can.* This is Saint *Peters* bul-warke ; for my parte
 Here I will die ere I surrender it.

Cha. Now find I true which cōmon bruite proclameth
 Of your bad meanings and hypochrisie :

But I referre your conscience to that Iudge

950 Whom (if my conscience harbor any thought

To wrong the Church of God, in any thing)

I call in iustice to reuenge on me.

Cæ. Renowned *Charles*, suppose we should surrender :
 How may we be secured that you will

955 Restore it, after your impresse at *Naples*.

Char. The faith and honour of a Christian King.

Ale. Your faith & honor ? stay most Christian *Charles*

Men will not yeeld vp Castels vpon wordes

Vnles their states, and liues grow desperate.

960 *Mount.* Why make we longer parlee with this Pope

Whose false-hood is so much that neither oth,

Nor honesty can purchase place with him.

Lodo. Who neuer yet in cause of consequence
 Hath kept his promise.

Char.

965 *Char.* Tell vs, will yee graunt ?

Alex. What should we graunt most Christian King of *France*
And tell me truly (were it your owne case)
Whether you would (on such slight promises)
Accord to such vneuen conditions ?

970 *Char.* We did not thinke our royall promises
Had beene so slightly censur'd in your heart :
But since we finde your infidelities
We must requite it with extremity,
Couzen Mountpanseir.

975 *Mount.* My Lord.

Char. Forthwith cause ten brasse peeces with their shot
And powder to be drawne out of Saint *Markes* ;
Such as you finde most fit for battery.

980 You will not here vs now, we speake so low :
Standing aloft you proudly scorne inferiors ;
Weele send our mindes, written in firy notes.

Caraf. Giue doubtfull answers, bee not peremptory
Least through your heate, his rage exsaperate.

Cæs. Offer vnto him on his Princely word,

985 The strength of *Terracina* for a pledge.

Alex. Victorious *Charles*, such is my trust and loue
That neither feare of force nor violence
Could any wayes induce me to suspect you.
Hence came it that the portes of *Rome* were opened

990 (At our behests) to giue you guestning.

Accept vs therefore with our promises,
Which we shall vnder hand and seale confirme
Not any way to Crosse your action.

Char. If you will yeeld vp Castell *Angelo*

995 Resolue vs presently without delaies ?

Cæs. Because it is Saint *Peeters* Cittadell
The conclaue is in doubt to make surrender.

Char. You will not yeeld then ?

Can. We cannot, nor wee will not yeeld it vp.

1000 *Char.* Why then a parle with our ordinance.

Sound drummes and trumpets : Alexander with his companie of the walles, ordinance goeing of (after a little skirmish within) hee summons from the Castell with a trumpet; answere to it below; Enter Alexander upon the walls as before.

- 1005 *Alex.* What come yee to make pillage of the Church,
Which held you deere as her chiefe Champion?
For beare your violence in the name of God :
Fearing the scourge, and thunder from aboue,
Our offers are both iust and reasonable.
- 1010 *Cæs.* Peeces which are of more validity
We meane to tender to your Maiesty.
Char. What are those peeces you would tender vs.
Alex. To render presently the Cittadells
Of *Terracina*, *Ciuita Vecchia*, and *Spoletto*.
- 1015 *Char.* And we receiue them very thankfully.
S. Pad vin. Our voices of the cōclauē passe, that *Charles*
Shalbe possest of *Castell Angelo*.
As. And if your meaning with your words accord
We dare ingage our soules for resurrender.
- 1020 *Ale.* Your soules? foh foh they stinck in sight of God & man,
Your soules? why they be sould to *Lucifer*,
Your consciences are of so large a last
That you would sell Saint *Peters* Patrimony,
As *Esau* did his heritage for broath.
- 1025 *Pee. ad Vi.* Thou most prophaine & impious Moabite ;
So full of vices and abominable,
No Pope but *Lucifer* in *Peters* Chaire.
As. Renowned *Charles* pull downe this Antichrist ;
Aduance some worthy father in his place.
- 1030 Your fame shall liue with all posterities
VWho from a wicked Bishops tyranny
Infranchised the Church of God misguided ;
Euen as (in this worlds worthy memories)
The names of *Pepin* and King *Charlemaine*
- 1035 Your predecessors, were eternized
For helping good Popes, Saints of Holy life,
Out of vngodly persecutions.

- Lodo.* A Pope by nature full of fraud, and pride;
Ambitious, auaritious, shameles, diuillish,
1040 And that and which your experience testifies)
One that with mortall malice hates the *French* :
By whome this reconciliation made
Was more in feare, and hard necessity
Then faithfull inclination, or good will.
- 1045 *Alex. Iscraiot*, reprobate apostata,
I charge thee to desist and make submission
VVith pennance to the Mother Church of *Rome*
On paine of euerlasting reprobation.
- Asca.* Blasphemous exorsist, heere are no diuills
1050 VVhich thou canst coniure, with thy diuillish spirit.
We charge thee render vp that triple Crowne
Which most vngodly man thou dost vsurp.
Those robes pontificall which thou prophanest,
Saint *Peters* Chaire wherein (like Antichrist)
1055 Thou doest aduance thy selfe thou man of sinne.
- Sa. P. ad Vi.* Saint *Pecter* doth make challenge to those keyes,
Which (in those hands defil'd with bloud and bribes)
Thou like a prophane deputy dost hold.
- Ascan.* That sword (with which thou sholdst strike Antichrist)
1060 Thou like proud Antichrist, conuerted hast
Vpon the members of Christes chosen flocke;
Saint *Paule* demaundes his sword, *Peter* his keyes :
- Alex.* Forbeare your blasphemies, what know yee not
Christes Vicar generall chosen on earth?
- 1065 Haue not I power to binde and loose mens sinnes,
And soules, on earth, in hell, and purgatory?
Come take Saint *Peters* Chaire proud heretiks ;
Here take this triple Crowne, oh you would take it :
But he, that made it, did not for you make it.
- 1070 *Ascanio* thou wouldst haue these Golden keies:
Here take them with my vengeance on thy head, *He throwes*
And *Pseudo Paulus* would haue Saint *Pauls* sword, *his keies.*
Ordained for his decollation.
Sonne *Charles* (since we capitulato with you)
- 1075 Me thinkes you should not suffer these t'allfront vs.

Char. Forbeare your idle velletations,
 Angring and rubbing vp the festred scarres
 Of wrath inueterate, and mortall quarrels,
 We come not here to foster factions,
 1080 All are in one accorded, all are friends.
 But yet most Holy-Father, let me craue,
 Two fauours more, both very reasonable ;
 First that you pardon both these Cardinalls,
 And other Barons which pertake with me.
 1085 Then that the brother of great *Baiaset*,
 That fled from *Rhodes* to *France*, and last to *Rome*,
 With the protection of Pope *Innocent*
 Call'd *Gemen Ottoman*, may be deliuer'd
 Into my hands, when after-time shall serue
 1090 For my best vantage in those holy warres,
 Which we pretend against the Turkes here-after.

Alex. The sunne shall neuer set vpon my wrath ;
 That Oylie Lampe of blessed Charitie
 Shall not extinguish in my zealous heart :
 1095 He that knowes all, knowes this I cannot falter
 With any brother, all are faithfull friends :
 Be but submissiue, milde, and penitent,
 And all is past, as all had beene well ment.
 Now touching *Gemen Ottoman*, sonne *Charles*,
 1100 When you shall vndertake those godly warres,
 I will deliuer him as willingly
 As you demaund : and with a cheerefull heart,
 Praising your godly zeale on Christs behalfe,
 And praying for your good successe in warre.

Char. I thanke your Holynesse.
 1105 *Lodw* : These quarrels are as happily determined
 As we could wish : call for an Actuarie,
 And let a Charter *Bipartite* be drawne
 Betwixt you : to confirme this amity.
 1110 And now most blessed Father I beseech,
 That I may shew the duty which belongs
 Vnto this place, and see Apostolick.

Alex. We will regreete your presence presently.

- Drums and Trumpets : Charles and his company make a garde.*
 1115 Gasper de Foix, Piccolomini, Caesar, Caratta, Cardinals, a Fri-
er with a holy water-pot casting water ; the Duke of Candie with
a sword, Astor Manfredy supporting Alexanders traine. all how
as the Pope marcheth solemnly through, who croweth them with
his fingers. Alexander being set in state, Caesar Borgia, and Ca-
 1120 *raffa aduance to fetch King Charles, who being presented unto*
the Pope, kisseth his foote, & then aduancing two degrees higher,
kisseth his cheeke : then Charles bringeth S. Peter ad Vincula,
and Ascanio, which with all reuerence kisse his feete, one of them
humbly deliuering vp his Crosse-keyes, which hee receiveth, blea-
 1125 *sing them and the rest of Charles his company : The Drum and*
Fife still sounding.

- Alex. Sonne Charles, your welcome is as acceptable,*
As euer was Kings presence into Rome :
To morrow we will with the power of heauen,
 1130 *Together celebrate a solemne Masse :*
After the Senior, Bishop, Cardinall,
You must take place : and as our custome is,
Shall giue vs water when we celebrate :
This done, we will bestow some time in pleasures.
 1135 *A garde for the Cardinals, French King, Frier and Pope : Enter*
with a solemne flourish of Trumpets, after whom the
garde troopeth, with Drums and Fife.

Enter Guicchiardine.

- Heere leaue we Charles with pompous ceremonies,*
 1140 *Feasting within the Vaticane at Rome :*
From thence to Naples, where the peoples hatred
Conceiu'd against the former Kings, made way
For him, without resistance to the crowne.
This done, he marcheth back againe for France,
 1145 *And Ferdinand doth repossesse his state.*
Meane while King Charles sick of an Apoplexie,
Dyes at Ambois : the Duke of Orleance,
Lewis the twelfth conioyntly knitting force,

Doth march in armes with *Ferdinand* of *Spaine*,
 1150 These regaine *Naples* and deuide that realme,
 But this breeds mortall warre betwixt them both,
 The wily Pope dissembles at all hands,
 The sequell onely concernes him and *Cæsar*. *Exit*.

ACTVS. 3. SCÆ. I.

1155 *Enter Astor, Manfredi with Phillippo.*

Ast. Brother *Phillippo*, what auaieth it,
 When our state lost the *Fauintines* compounded,
 That I should hold both life and liberty,
 Withall reuenues of my proper state,
 1160 When as my life within the Court of *Rome*,
 Is much more loathsome to my soule then death,
 And liberty more grieve then seritude.

Phil. I rather choose within the riuer *Tiber*
 To drowne my selfe, or from *Tarpeyan* hill,
 1165 My vexed body to precipitate,
 Then to subiect my body to the shame
 Of such vild brutish and vnkindely lust.

Ast. He that with fire and Brimstone did consume
Sodome and other Citties round about,
 1170 Deliuier vs from this soule-slaying sinne.
 To which our bodies are made prostitute,

Enter Barnardo.

Bar. Deare salutations from my Lord the Pope,
 I recommend vnto your excellence,
 1175 With semblable remembrance of his loue,
 To you my Lord *Phillippo*,

Ast. Good *Barnardo*.
 My dutie bound vnto his Holynesse,
 Returne in paiement from his Captiue seruant.
 1180 *Bar.* Ingenious Prince, I bring a friendly message
 Of tender kindnesse, which I must impart :

They draw them-selues aside.

This Ruby from our Holy-fathers finger,
 (In priuate token of his faithfull loue)
 1185 He bid mee secretly deliuier you :

And

And there-withall, desireth of your loue,
To haue with him some priuate conference.

- Ast.* I was now going to our Ladies masse,
In Saint *Iohn Laterans*; where my ghostly father
1190 Attendeth me for my confession.
But thanke his Holynesse on my behalfe,
In all due reuerence and humilitie.
Tell him I meane --- so soone as I returne, *pawse.*
To come according to my bounden duty. *Exit Bar.*
1195 My case is desperate, what shall I doe?
Phillippo was there euer any man
Hunted with such vnsatisfied rage?
Phil. What hath he sent againe to visit you?
Astor. To visit me, nay to dishonor me,
1200 Behold this Ruby sent from his owne finger,
Which as a Bawdè inuiteth me to shame.

SCENA. 2.

Alexander out of a Casement.

- Alex.* *Astor?* what *Astor?* my delight my ioy,
1205 My starre, my triumph, my sweete phantasie,
My more then sonne, my loue, my Concubine,
Let me behold those bright Stars my ioyes treasure,
Those glorious well attempred tender cheekes;
That specious for-head like a lane of Lillies :
1210 That seemely Nose loues chariot triumphant,
Breathing *Panchaian* Odors to my sences,
That gracious mouth, betwixt whose crimosin pillou
Venus and *Cupid* sleeping kisse together.
That chin, the ball vow'd to the Queene of beauty,
1215 Now budding ready to bring forth loue blossoms,
Astor Manfredi turne thee to my loue,
Come hither *Astor* we must talke aboue.
Astor. Betraid? a slaue to sinne? what shall I say?
Most Holy father.
1220 *Alex.* Doe not mee forget :
I am thy brother, and thy deerest friend,
And though in age I loue, know that desire

- In riper yeares is pure and permanent,
 Grounded on iudgement, flowing from pure loue :
 1225 Whereas the loue lightning from young desire,
 Fickle, and feeble will not long hold fire,
 It is so violent it will not last.
 They'r blest whose louers loue when youth is past.
Astor. To call you friend were too familiar,
 1230 To call you brother sorts not with our yeares :
 To call you Father doth import some feare,
 Due to that age your Holinesse doth beare.
Alex. Tell me not of mine age and Holinesse,
 Thy sight sufficeth me to make me young :
 1235 Neither vpbraide me with my sanctimonie,
 Loue is the purest essence from aboue,
 And to thy soule I would affix my loue.
 Come hither then and rest with mee to night,
 Giue me fruition of those amorous pits,
 1240 Where blinded *Cupid* close in ambush sits :
 Who with his Arrow (when thou laught at *Venus*)
 Shot through thy smiling cheekes, and did inchaine vs.
 Thy Chamber with *Ambrosiall* odors breatheth,
 New loues and true loues vnto them that entreateth,
 1245 And furious *Mars* made milde his Faulcheon sheatheth
 At thy delicious aspect : see thy Chamber :
 The walles are made of Roses, roofe of Lillies,
 Be not asham'd to mount and venture it,
 Here *Cupids* Alter, and faire *Venus* hill is.
 1250 Thy bed is made with spice and *Calamus*,
 With Sinamond and Spicnard, Arabick,
 With Opobalsam and rich gums of *Ægipt*,
 Musick *Angelicall* of strings and voyces.
 With sundry birds in sugred simphony,
 1255 Where whistling Wood-nimphes, and the pleasant choise is
 Of Antique action mixt with harmony,
 Attend thy ioyous entrance to this Chamber.
Phil. Is it possible that the Diuill can be so sweet a dissembler ?
Ast. Yes and play the pleasant part of a conceited *Amoret*,
 1260 For he can take the shape of a bright Angell.

Alex. Now

Alex. Now my sweet friend the ioyes of loue doth mutter
 Thy mind too bashfull is, speake tounge loues vtter,
 Thy Corrall gums cud loues pure quintisence,
 And thou thy selfe faire boy loues purest essence.

1265 *Ast.* Oh blessed heauens let Sathan tempt no longer,
 His force is powerfull yet thy strenght much stronger,
 He that with guilefull baites gilded vntruth,
 So seekes to blast the blossome of my youth.

Alex. Delicious fruited diuine Confections,
 1270 Of hearbes, roots, flowers of sundrie fashions.
 Preseruatiues drawne from the rich *Elixar*,
 Of finest gould pure pearle and precions stones,
 Prouided for thy diuine apetite,
 Wines of more price (made by th'industrious art,
 1275 Insacred distillations) then that *Nectar*,
 Which *Hebe* bare, when *Ioue* did most affect her.

Phi. Sathan false god of lies, and flatterie;
 How palpable is this grosse villaine?

Alex. What wilt thou come *Manfredi* to my Chamber,
 1280 And blesse me with thy precious breath of Amber.

Asto. After our ladies Masse I will returne.
 Deare God what furies in his soule doe burne?
 After the Celebration of the Masse,

I come my Lord.

Exeunt Astor and Phillippo.

1285 *Alex.* Come then, and let that passe.

Holla *Barnardo*?

Alexander tinkith a bell.

All busines for this night I will adiourne,
 Giue good attendance that at his returne,
Astor may come to me for my sicke heart,

1290 Till *Astor* with his beauty full embrace,
 Doe blesse my body wounded with his dart,
 Can find no rest, loue hath it in hot chase.

ACT. 3. SCENE. 2.

*Enter Cæsar Borgia the Cardinall, and Fresco-
 baldy a ruffaine.*

1295

Cæs. Wilt thou performe it faithfully?

Fre. What I? will I liue to eate, to drinke, to sleepe?

Cæs. Wilt thou performe it valiantly?

Fre

Fres. Will I eate to drinke, will I drinke to sleepe, will I sleepe
1300 to liue ?

Cæs. Will thou be secret, and conceale my plot ?

Fres. My name is *Frescobaldi*, as for my pedigree,
My mother was of consanguinitie with the Princesse
Of *Perugia* : my father of the noble family of the *Oddi*,
1305 *Florentines* both : I my selfe

Brought vp a Page vnder *Rayner* King of *Sicily*,
Haue seru'd against the *Turkes* and *Sarazines*,
Where at *Vienna* (with my single Pike,
Arm'd in a Maly *Briggandine* of *Naples*,
1310 And with an old-Fox which I kept in store,
A monument of *Mars* when I depart)
I did vnhorse three *Turkie* Ianizaries.

Then (in the warres of *Ferdinand* the King)
This Hippe was shott through with a *Crocodile*,
1315 But that it were too tedious I could shew you :

Vnder the King of *Romaines* I was cut,
Iust from this shoulder to the very pappe :
And yet by fortunes of the warre am heere,
I thanke God, and my Surgion, all fix, trillill.

1320 I fought at *Malta* when the towne was girt
With Sargeants heads, and bul-beggars of *Turkie* :
And by my plot (niming below the rampier)
We gaue th'obgoblins leaue to scale our walls,
And being mounted all vpon that place :

1325 I with my Lint-stock gaue fire to the traine,
And sent them capring vp to *Capricornus*.
Which when the wise Astronomers of *Greece*,
Prodigiously discovered from a farre.
They thought those *Turcaes* fiery meteors.

1330 Which with their Pikes were pushing in the cloudes,
The learned Booke-men writte strange Almanacks,
Of signes, and apparitions in the ayre :
And by these honors (if I proue a blabbe)
Then call mee villaine, varlet, coward, skabbe.

1335 *Cæs.* Then tell mee *Frescobaldi*
Where I may send to thee when time shall serue.

Fris. Faith

Fresc. Faith for the most parte my mansion is in *Chuitauechia nella strada di san lorenzo*, nere the conliuet at a good olde Ladies house, *la dōna sempronio* at signe of the glister pipe, where if
 1340 you chance to faile of mee. Within three houses more at signe of the frying-panne you may commande mee, at all houres in the fore-noone.

Cæs. Well gramercie *Frescobaldi* I wil take the note of those houses in my tables.

1345 But be sure and ready when oportunitie calles vpon you.

Fresco. May it please your most reuerend grace (without offence to your Lordship) to deliuer me the parties name vpon whome I should performe this Tragedy. For I may percase catch him in a gilder my selfe before you are aware; and myylie
 1350 muffle vp his maistership, with the *garotta*, or *stiletto*, perchance the ponyard or pistol, such as I warrant you shal serue his turne.

Cæs. Be it sufficient thou shalt know hereafter,

My businesse and affaires are very great :

One word more, and adue

1355 *He rowndeth with Frescobaldi.*

Fres. Secret as mid-night, sure as the sunne, quick as the waters

Cæs. Why? so sayd braue *Frescobaldi* like a man of some resolution, farewell remember the watchward--do not faile.

Fresco. My businesse and affaires are very great my grations
 1360 Lord, one word more with your grace my good Lord, and so I kisse your foote. *He whispereth with Cæsar.*

Cæs. It was not ingratitude, neither forgetfulness in me *Frescobaldi* : Here take this and remember me.

He deliuereth him a purse.

1365 *Fres.* I encounter your munificence with my loue, and your loue with my seruice, my loue and seruice with your mony.

Padrone mio molto honorato,

More for your loue then your mony,

And yet your grace wel knowes, clothes must be wrought, weapons must be bought; and Taverns must be sought, and all braue
 1370 exploits must be done, as they should be done brauely

Cæs. But that I keepe my secret to my selfe;

I would not vse this slaue for any gold :

Yet when I trust him he shall not deceiue me.

Exit Cæsar

Fresco.

- 1375 *Fresc.* Now skelder yee scounderels, skelder you maggot-mūgers, you pompiōs ; you wood-wormes, you magatapipicoes, I am for you, now *Frescobaldi*, call thy wits together, let me now see what a clock it is : very neere eight, and almost breakfast time at a eleauen, this very night must I stand *Perdue* for this
 1380 bloudy seruice. I know my place and houre ; I must confesse and perchance be hang'd, I haue in the *Burdelliaes* and in other such houses of naturall recreation and agility, receiued three or foure score broken pates in my time : and some bastinadoes for crossing courting spicy-spirited inamoratoes in their humors.
 1385 Besides I was the first that from the *Swisse* quarter, in the raigne of king *Ferdinand* brought vp in his army the fashions of bow-sing and towsing *Greeke* and *Spanish* wines by the flagon, with that old stinckard *Henrico Baglioni*, sometime *Alferoes* to *Capitano Piccolomini* & my selfe ; I remember likewise at *Terracina*
 1390 I broake a glasse (contayning some quart of Robollia) vpon the face of *Capitano Fransesco Boccausacchi* a very sufficient souldier in that seruice, and to my knowledge a tall trencherman : howbeit from the teeth down-ward as base a mettled coward as euer was coyn'd out of the sooty side of a copper kettle ; so he
 1395 was : well I will second my Lord in any slaughter for his wages, and if any man will giue me better hiers (when I haue seru'd the Cardinalls turne) I will present my pistoll vpon his sacred person afterward for charities sake : well, now to the drinking schoole, then to the fence schoole, and lastly to the vaulting
 1400 schoole, to my Lady *Sempronia*. *Exit.*

Enter the Duke of Candie and Barbarossa.

- Can.* This was an act of such strange consequence,
 As neuer yet was heard, a man found dead
 Within a priuate chamber of his house ;
 1405 When all his seruants stird : not one of them
 That could giue euidence of what befell
 But that he kill'd himselfe. *Cosa impossibile.*
Bar. I was the first that found him in his blood ;
 Then warme from slaughter : such a ruthfull sight
 1410 As yet I tremble to remember it.
Can. It is impossible (after a search)
 No stranger found within *Visellies* doers,

But

But that some seruant of his family
Should haue sure notice how the murther was.

1415 *Bar.* It was his owne hand sure.

Can. I cannot thinke it.

The gentleman was honest, full of sport,
And well affected.

Bar. Pardon me my Lord,

1420 My Ladie *Lucrece* told it in great grieve
She twise before had rescued his life.

Can. Go too, go too.

Bar. Besides my Noble Lord.

Papers both writ, and sealed with his hand

1425 Were found about him testifying this.

Can. Good *Barbarossa* pray my sister *Lucrece*,
Here to encounter me with her good company :
Som-what I would in priuate talke with her.

Bar. My Lord I will.

Exit Barb.

1430 *Can.* High God be mercifull.

Thou that doest know the secrets of al hearts,
If *Lucrece* (as my father doth suspect)
Was priuie to this murther of my life

Enter Lucrece Barb. with her.

1435 I can learne all she knowes.

But yet I will not either suspect, or vrge her were it true
Being indeede a violation of brother-hood & common huma-
She maketh towards me --- sister how faires it with you? unity

Luc. As with a dead Corse in a Sepulcher

1440 Cold, liewlesse, comfortlesse, opprest with sorrow.

Nor since my ioy did leaue me desolate
Euer could I brooke well this open ayre
But still lamenting and disconsolate
Kept vp in Chamber, mourning for my Lord.

1445 *Can.* What order tooke you for his funnerall?

Luc. He that aliue was shrined in my brest,
Now dead liues yet intombed in my thoughts,
There is a modell of it in my closet.

Can. Performe it decently with dilligence.

1450 *Lu.* Brother me thinks the ayre is cold and raw,

And as you please let vs conferre within.

Can. Gladly deere sister with what hast you may,

And I desire you noble *Barbarosa*

To meete vs at my Chamber after supper.

1455 My brother *Cæsar* hath appoynted with me

Some businesse, and I craue your company.

Bar. Thankes my good Lord : but matters of much moment,

I haue at that time with my Lord *Caraffa* ;

And I must speake this night with my Lord *Cæsar*.

1460 *Can.* Tell him I will attend by nine of clocke.

Bar. I will my good Lord.

Cand. Farewell *Barbarossa*.

Bar. Ioy to you both.

Exit *Barbarossa*.

Cau. My trembling liuer throbs, my cold hearts heauy ;

My mind disturbed and I know not why

1465 But all as he will, heauens aboue for me.

Excunt omnes.

SCEN. 5.

Enter Frescobaldi solus.

Fres. This is the black night, this the fatall hand :

These are the bloudy weapons which must be

1470 Witnesse and actors of this Tragedy.

Now *Frescobaldi* play thy masters prize :

Here is a rich purse cram'd with red crusadoes

Which doth inspire me with a martiall spirit,

Now could I combate with the diuill to night.

1475 First did I wash my liuer, lungs, and heart.

In *Cretane* wines and head strong *Maluesie*

(Such as would make a coward fight with *Mars*)

Then least I should with any weapons drawne

Be driuen to danger of mine enemy ;

1480 I practised my martiall feicts of fence :

As for example if with armes vnsheath'd,

I were to kill this conduct here I come. *he fenceth.*

He makes a thrust, I with a swift passado,

Make quick auoydance, and with this stoccado

1485 (Although he fence with all his finest force)

Bar'd of his body thrust him in the throate.

Guardateui bene, signori honoreuoli.

Suppose

Suppose this conduit or my duellist,
Should falsifie the foine vpon me thus.

1490 Here will I take him, turning downe this hand.

*Enter Henrico Baglioni looking earnestly
vpon Frescobaldi.*

Il punto verso indrizzato, thus.

Admit he force me with his ambroccado

1495 Here I deceiue then, with this passado
And come vpon him in the speeding place.

Bag. what *Mandragon* or saluage *Ascapart*,
what *Pantaconger* or *Pantagruell*

Art thou that fightest wirh thy fathers soule

1500 Or with some subtill apparitions.

Which no man can behould with mortall eyes

Or art thou rauished wirh bedlamy

Fighting with figments and vaine fantazies

Chimeraes ot blacke spirrits of the night.

1505 *Fresc* : Come not within 9. furlongs of this place.

My name is *Rubosongal* the grimme ghost

Of *Bembocamber* king of *Calicute*.

And here for this night I keepe centrenell

For *Muscopateron* great king of flies ;

1510 Great grandsier of ten thousand hecatombes.

Bag : I Coniure thee fowle fiende of *Acheron*

By puissant *Hoblecock* and *Bristletoe*,

By *Windicaper Monti-bogglebo*.

Polipotmos and the dreadfull names

1515 of *Mulli-sacke* and *Hermocotterock*.

By *Petrouidemi*, by the dogged spirrits

Of *Bacchus* which Canary land inherrits.

By purple *Aligant* the bloody gyant.

And leaden headed hollock pure and pliant.

1520 By *Birrha Martia* and by *Sydrack* sweete

Who did with mathew *Glynne* in combat meete.

And by this awfull crosse vpon my blade

Of which black curres and hedghogges are affraid.

And by this fox which stinkes of *Pagan* bloud,

1525 Do'st thou walke there for mischiete or for good.

- Fres.* Braue man whose spirit is approued well,
 (As most aprooued panders truly tell)
 Vnder greene hedges, vnder Coblers stalles,
 In portall, porches, vnder batterd walles,
 1530 Which day ; by night keepes watch-full centinell
 To guaze the pleasures of faire *Claribell*
 Profane arch patriarch of *Pancridge* steeple,
 The bauldy beaken of vngodly people.
 With other matter which I might alleadge
 1535 To the Grand Captaine of *Collman-hedge*,
 Marching fowle *Amazonian* trulls in troupes
 Whose lanthornes are still lighted in their Poupes.
 Some without kerchiefes, others with torne smockes ;
 Certaine imboch'd with piles, and some with poxes.
 1540 Others with rotten shooes and stockings rente
 With carrine in each ditch keepe parliament.
 In petticoates all patch'd and wast-coate torne,
 And wandring with some ragge blesse euery thorne.
 Which with their Targets neuer make retire,
 1545 From any breach till they their foomen fire.
 Rebating the stiffe pointes of their keene blades
 Till all their champions masculiue proue Iades.
 To thee saith *Frescobaldi* case thy steele
 Least thou the rigor of my furie feele.
 1550 *Bag.* And yet I loue thee for thy martiall grace,
 Thine in all seruice : shake hands and embrace.
Fresc. A pox vpon thy coward fistes foule knaue,
 And yet I loue thee roague : aske roague and haue.
Embrace fantastically.
 1555 *Bagb.* Come and embrace : tis blith when malte-men meete,
 And drinke till they haue lost both head and feete.
 And driueling sleepe on euery stall and bench
 With euery man a knee in his hand and in his Can a prettie
 But *Frescobaldi* my braue *Bodigonero*, (wench
 1560 Varlet of veluet, my moccado villaine,
 Old heart of durance, my stript canuase shoulders,
 And my Perpetuana pander tell me ;
 Tell me what humors Cataplasmatick,

Excited

- Excited haue thy *Bacchick* fantasies :
 1565 To draw that triumphant swerlidildo,
 Vpon some spirit of the Buttery,
Fris. This was no barmie spirit of the bottle,
 It was a bloody spirit of the battell :
 And if I lye, call me thy Wimble-cock.
- 1570 *Bag,* A mouldy iest, well I will answere thee :
 I coniure thee by *Negra Luciaes* name,
 By *Dol Pattenti*, by the subtill shape,
 Of *Nanna Baliker*, by the cunning fleights
 Of *Vini Clerilicks* with hir faire sprights :
- 1575 By *Mega Court*, with *Marga Marichalus*,
 That in *Turnuliball* doth keepe an Ale-house :
 By *Nan Riuehomo* that hote stigmatist,
 Now bedded with th'*Italian* Vitraillist,
 Which in the fierie *Phlegitonian* flames,
- 1580 Did worke strange vitriall dildidoes for Dames,
 Her spirits haue no power to touch this strand.
 Till they transported from *Lambechia* land,
 By *Charon* Ferriman of Black *Auerne*,
 Fall Anchor at the *Stilliard* Tauerne,
- 1585 And by *Tartarean* *Plutoes* *Heben* bowle,
 Why didst thou combate with thy Fathers soule?
Fres. Learned Magitian, skild in hidden Artes,
 As well in prior as posterior parts,
 I see thou kennist the secrets of all sorts,
- 1590 Of sharpe siringues and salacious sports :
 Venerall Buboes, Tubers Vlcerous,
 Aud *Iannes De fisticanckers* venomous.
 Doubtlesse *Don Vigo* then his vigor pour'd
 Into thy braines, when he thy bottle scour'd.
- 1595 Noble *Henrilico* question no further,
 My meditations are of bloud and murther,
 I ieasted haue too long, pree-thee be gone.
Henrico Baglioni (by this sword)
 I am to morrow to performe a duell,
- 1600 And practising in this nights melancholic,
 How to dispatch it with a braue stoccadoe.

Heere I did make a prooffe, prithie good-night,
 Trouble me now no more : early to morrow,
 Ile march vnto the signe oth frying-panne,
 1605 And take thee timely with thy pointes vntrust,
 To drinke a flagon of greeke wine with thee.

Bag. Goodnight my noble *Rillibilbibo*,

Thou shalt be welcome in the darkest midnight. *Exit Bagli.*

Fris. Now to my watchword it is quight forgot, oh
 1610 *Col nuuolo la Pioggia* : thinke vpon it

The clocke strikes eleuen.

This is mine hower appoynted. this the place.

Here will I stand close till tha'llarum call,

he stands behind the post.

1615 *Enter a Page with a torche, Duke of Candie and*
Cæsar Borgia disguised.

Can. What ist a clocke boy now?

Pag. My gracious Lord,

By *Sistoes horologe* tis strooke eleuen.

1620 *Cæsa.* A fit hower for our purpose noble brother,

Can. But hath *La Bella formiana* notice,

Of our aproch to night.

Cæs. Oh doubt it not, villaine put out that torch,

Being disguis'd we will not be discryed,

1625 Depart you to my lodging presently,

Paine of thy life not one word that thou saw vs.

Can. Tis very darke, good brother goe before,

You know the streets best.

Cæsa. Oh keepe your way; you cannot lightly fall,

1630 But if you doe.

Can. How then.

Cæsa. You shalbe supported.

Can. My heart begins to throb, my soule misdoubts,

I feare some treachery *A che me fido, guarda me Dio*,

1635 On in Gods name.

Cæs. Giue me your hand brother, fie doe not faint.

Can. *Cæsar* I can scarce goe,

A suddaine qualme hath seiz'd vpon my spirits.

The boy
putteth out
the torch.
Exit page.

Cæs.

Cæs. Tut brother forward with alacritie,

1640 *My* life for yours youle be at ease anon,

Can. Tis a foule busines let vs retire,

And seeke some other season for our sports,

Cæs. I am asham'd thou should'st be generall,

To lead those forces that fight for the Church,

1645 And heere shew such faint harted cowardize.

Can. Are you d'spos;d to quarrell in the streets,

Neither the time nor place serues instantly;

To call you to some audit for these words.

Cæs. Abortiue Coward borne before thy time. *Cæsar trips up*

1650 I will not brooke thy foolish insolence. *Candies heels.*

Col nuolo la pioggia.

Cæsar and Frescobaldi stab him.

Can. Deere God reuenge my wrongs, receaue my soule.

Cæs. Let him receaue thy soule when he thinkes good,

1655 Ile take an order for thy buriall.

Helpe *Frescobaldi* let vs heaue him ouer,

That he may fall into the riuier *Tiber*,

Come to the bridge with him.

Fres. Be what he will the villaine's ponderous,

1660 Hath he some Gould about him shall I take it?

Cæs. Take it were there a million of duckets,

Thou hast done brauely *Frescobaldi*,

Stretch thee, streth out thine armes feare that he

Fall not vpon the arches.

1665 *Fres.* Ile wash him doubt you not of a new fashion.

Cæs. I thinke thou neuer hadst thy Christendome,

Follow for Company prenitious villaine.

Fres. Hold hold, Coxwounds my Lord hold,

Cæs. The diuell goe with you both for company.

1670 *Cæsar casteth Frescobaldi after*

Cæsar solus.

Now *Cæsar* Muster vp thy wittes together.

Summon thy sences and aduance thy selfe,

Ware and Earth haue interpos'd their bodies,

1675 Betwixt the worldes bright eye and this blacke murther.

sweete

- Sweete silent night (guarded with secret starres)
 Keepe silence, and conceale this Tragedie :
Saturne is lord ascendant of this hower,
 Propitious patron of assassinated
 1680 Of murthers, *Paracides*, and massacres :
 Lord of my birth, auspicious to my life,
 This is my first degree to domination.
 Who can, or (if they could) who dare suspect,
 How *Cæsar Borgia* kild his brother *Candie*?
 1685 This is infallible, that many crimes
 Lurke vnderneath the robes of Holinesse :
 And vnderneath my Purple tunicle
 This fact concealed is : *Ascanio Sforza*
 Shall strangely (by some wilie policies)
 1690 Be brought into suspect for *Candies* death.
 Sister *Lucretia* thou must follow next :
 My fathers shame and mine, endeth in thee.
 Now shew thy selfe true *Cæsar*; *Cæsar* shall
 Either liue *Cæsar* like, or not at all.

1695

Guicchiardine.

Death and bloud onely lengthen out our Scène.
 These be the visible and speaking shewes,
 That bring vice into detestation,
 Vnnaturall murthers, cursed poysonings,
 1700 Horrible exorcisme, and Inuocation,
 In them examine the rewarde of sinne.
 What followes, view with gentle patience.

ACT. 4. SCÆ. 1.

Alexander in his studie beholding a Magicall glasse
 with other obseruations.

1705

Alex. Fore-god 'tis *Candie*, 'tis *Candy*, I know 'tis *Candie*,
 Where is that traiterous homicide? where is hee?
 I cannot see him : hee shall not scape me so.
 I must and will finde him, though he went inuisible,

Apppeare,

1710 Appeare appeare ; not yet ; ha and *Candy* murthered too,
Let me looke forth.

*Alexander commeth vpon the Stage out of his study with
a booke in his hand.*

Oh, oh, very good very good : well I perfectly perceiue,
1715 By this escention of *Arctophilax*,
What time of night it is, sorrow giue place ;
Reuenge in blood and fierie sacrafice,
Commaundeth : nature now preuents her current : yeeld,
Let vs adore the second eye of heauen, *he boweth his bodie.*
1720 Bright *Armatus* increaseth she, is not combust.
O sacred season for nocturnall Ceremonies.
This ioyeous quarter is in *Casmaran*, ha. *he looketh on a watch.*
What hower of night ist ? why tis *Salam*, twelue a cloke,
What are our angels of this quarter ?

1725 *Gargatel Tariel Gauiel.*
How goodly these augurize faire auspices of truth,
Now mountes bright *Athaman* in his goulden ascention,
Direct in opposition with our hemispher, *he tinketh on a bell.*
And now there hower with them is *Aetalon* :

1730 *Bernardo* bring hither thy white robes of sanctity,
Hast thou Coles ready burnt bring in my Thurible,
And sence about this sanctified place,
For heere *Festatiui* must haue her honor.

Candie my sonne is murthered, *Candie* my sonne,
1735 *Candie* my sonne is murthered : I will raise
All the great diuills to shew the murtherer,
Euen as thou lou'dst my sonne hast and dispatch,
Hast and dispatch it as thou louest my soule.
Tis not yet *ayne* by three quarters of an hower,

1740 What are our Angels of this night ? *Michael*, *Dardael*, *Huratipel.*
In a triumphant carre of burning gold,
Crownd with a circlet of blacke hebeny,
And with a mace of Iet King *Varca* rides.
Attended with his ministers of state, *Andas* and *Cynaball.*

1745 Fit dismall times for our solemnities.

Enter Bernardo.

Put on my robes giue me my Pentacle,

Cense well *Barnardo* : bring me some fire in an earthen vessel
Now must I laboure like a collyers horse.

1750 *After Bernardo had Censed he bringeth in coles, and Alexander fashioneth out his circle then taketh his rod.*

My pretious best approu'd and trusty seruant,
Hence in all hast be-take thee to thy beads,
Whilst these darke workes of horror are in hand,

1755 Red *Sandall* is my fumigation.

standing without the circle he waueth his rod to the East.

And calleth vpon

To the West.

To the North.

1760 To the Sowth.

VIONATRABA.

SVSERATOS.

AQVIEL.

MACHASAEL.

Coniuro, et confirmo super vos in nomine Eye, eye, ey; hast vp & ascende per nomeu ya, ya, ya; he, he, he; va; hy, hy; ha, ha, ha; va, va, va; an, an, an;

1765 *Fiery exhalations lightning thunder ascend a King, with a red face crowned imperially riding vpon a Lyon, or dragon : Alexander putteth on more perfume and saith.*

I coniure thee by these aforesaid names,
That thou receaue no phantasmaticke illusions.

Diue. What would great *Alexander* haue with vs,

1770 That from our fiery region millions of leagues,
Beneath the sulphurous bottome of *Abisse*,
Where *Mammon* tells his euer tryed gould,
Thou call'st me from strong busines of high state,
From sure subuersions and mutations

1775 Of mighty Monarches, Emperors, and Kings,
From plotting bloody feilds and massacres,
Triumphant treasons and assassinated.
Whats thy demand?

Alex. I charge thee by the fower recited names,

1780 And by the dreadfull title of great *Phaa*.

By which all creatures are sure sealed vp,
By which the prince of daiknes and all powers,
In earth and hell doe tremble and fall downe,
Shew me the shape of that condemned man,

1785 Which murthered my sonne the duke of *Candy*.

Diuel.

Diu. Keepe a firme station stir not for thy life,
Expect a messenger of trust stand fast,

*The diuell descendeth with thunder and
lighning and after more exhalations
ascends another all in armor.*

1790

Diue. Sent from the foggy lake of fearefull stix.

Am I comaunded by that puissant monarch,

Which rides tryumphing in a charriot,

On misty blacke clouds mixt with quenchles fire,

1795 Through vnquoth corners in darke pathes of death,

To doe what thou demandest.

Alex. Then by the dreadfull names of *Amioram*,

Titepand Sadai shew me that damned childe of reprobation,

Which this night murthered the duke of *Candie*.

1800 *Diui.* Keepe a firme station stir not for thy life,

*He goeth to one doore of the stage, from
whence he bringeth the Ghost of Candie
gastly haunted by Cæsar persuing and
stabing it, these vanish in at another doore.*

1805 *Alex.* Hold, hold, hold, hold; *per todos santos* now no more.

Cæsar hath kill'd a brother 'and a father.

Diue. What wouldest thou more shall I descend?

Alex. Shew me the person by whose impious hand,

Gismond Viselli, was done to death?

1810 *Deue.* Keepe a firme station stirre not for thy life.

*He bringeth from the same doore Gismond Viselli, his wounds
gaping and after him Lucrece outrest, holding a dagger fixt
in his bleeding bosome : they vanish.*

Alex. Out, out, no more no more, my soule disolues.

1815 *Deni.* Say, say what wouldest thou more? discend,

Alex. *Beldachiensis, Berotanensis, Helmenen, discende, discende,
iubeo, mando, impero.*

Deuill descendeth with thunder. &c.

Enter Bernardo.

Alexander tinketh his bell,

1820 *Alex.* Out out alas *Bernardo* I am wounded,

With grisly wounds and deepe incurable.

Ber. Comfort your selfe in Gods name blessed father,

Soe long as noe wounds of the body bleed.

- Alex.* The cureles wounds I meane are of my body
 1825 Wounds of my soule and body : but *Bernardo*
 This is my comfort in calamity
 Some shall packe after them for company
 Whats a clocke?
Barn. Very neere six by Saint *Peters* bell
 1830 *Alex.* Hast thee, then passe thou to my Poticary, bid him
 prouide those drugges I spoke for yester-day, and beare them in
 all hast to *Dominico Giglio* take you those letters with you
 which are here, bid him deliuer them in *Lodwick Sforzaes* name
 her lustfull Paramoure; make hast and see that he dispatch it
 1835 quickly, deliuer him a purse from mee for a token cramd with
 two hundred ducates, bid him bee secreat as he loues his life,
 hast and begon. *Exit Bernardo.*
Astor shall follow, I must haue his Lands
 This thorne must be cut of being but tender
 1840 Then cut it soone whilst it is yong and slender.
 Least growing great it prick thee to the bone
 My lust importunes it and he shall die,
 Sonnes, Nephewes, Daughters, Concubines, shall die.
 My conscience is turn'd mercies enemy,
 1845 He that would rise to riches and renowne
 Must not regard though he pull millions downe.

Exit Alexander into the studie.

SCEN. 2.

*Enter Cæsar Borgia with Caraffa
 and Bentiuoli.*

- 850 *Cæs.* Where is his Holinesse? where is my father?
 Alas your Sonne is slaine; your haples Sonne,
 My noble brother out alas, alas
 Is murdered : in tender passion
 1855 Let curious search and inquisition
 Be made through *Rome* to finde the murtherers :
 I feare that Traitrous *Iudas* Cardinall
Ascanio Sforza with his complices :
 I will not hould fraternity with him :
 1860 And here behold my meaning blessed father :
 Receiue againe these robes, take here this hat,

And

And in these armes which I haue buclod on
I do forswear al offices of Church,
Vntill I be reuenged for his death.

1865 *He disrobeth himselfe and appeareth in armor.*

Alex. A foule red vengeance ouer hangs his head
Whose heart indurate or whose diuillish braine,
Could execute conceiue or meditate
So foule a murder of an Innocent.

1870 *Caraffa* with *Bentioli* giue leaue
Some-what I would in priuate haue with *Cæsar*.

Cæsar desemble not for that were vaine *Exeunt Car. et Ben.*
Whence comest thou.

Cæs. Directly from my Chamber.

1875 *Ale.* Where didst thou here this newes.

Cæs. Fishers which found his body brought the newes.

Alex. Then he was droun'd *Cæsar* was he not?

Cæs. It seemes he was.

Alex. What by some Fisher.

1880 *Cæs.* How should I know that.

Ale. Sure by some subtill Fisher that layd nets
For *Candies* life and honor : but say truly,
Was it thy brother.

Cæs. Are not you my father?

1885 *Ale.* Ah that I neuer had beene any father,
But speake againe, man speake the truth and feare not :
Who slew thy brother *Candie* this last night,
Who traird him forth who walk'd along with him.

Cæs. Am I the keeper of my brothers person.

1890 *Alex.* Execrable *Cain*; perfidious Homecide,
Apparant villaine what canst thou designe?
Which I would know that thou canst hide from me.

Cæs. A plague vpon your diuills you deale with them,
That watch more narrowly to catch your soule

1895 Then he which sought my brother *Candies* death,
You know that *Sathan* is the lord of lies
A false accuser and dessembler,
Tell your familiers they be lying Diuils.

Alex. *Cæsar* no more, *Cæsar* no more, thou knowst.

1900 *Cæs.* What know I ?

Alex. That I know, dissemble not.

Cæs. Suppose you know, suppose in wrath & fury

I killd my brother; can we mend it now?

He was not fashion'd for these busie times :

1905 He rests in peace, our peace rests in our swords.

Alex. Cæsar thou do'st vnkindly vex my soule,

With rubbing vp my secret miseries :

Incur'd by seeking to lift vp thy head.

Cæs. Pull me not downe good father with your conscience :

1910 Your conscience, father of my conscience is.

My conscience is as like your conscience,

As it were printed with the selfe-same stampe.

I know my sinnes are burthenous, and beare them,

Your sinnes more hainous, yet your robes conceale them.

1915 *Alex.* Out wicked and nefarious homicide.

Cæs. Vpbraid me not, for if that Lampe burne dimme,

Which should giue light to men in darkest night;

How can they choose but must in shaddowes erre,

That follovv the blind-glimering thereof :

1920 Doth this one petty fault appeare so grievous?

Which if you vvell consider is no fault;

He vvas an honest man, and fitt for heauen :

Whilste he liu'd here he breath'd in miserie;

And vvould haue beene enlarg'd : I fet him free.

1925 Novv if I may compare your state vvith his,

Or your condition vvith my qualitie,

Haue you not sold your selfe vnto the Diuill,

To be promoted to the Papacie :

Haue you not sould the liuings of the Church?

1930 Are not your coffers cram'd vvith beastly bribes,

With foule extortion, and base Vsury?

Haue yee not (since your inauguration)

Poysoned and done to death six Cardinals;

In diuillish auarice to get their goods?

1935 Haue you not (vvhich is most abhominable)

Committed incest vvith your onely daughter;

And made me sinne vvith her for company,

That

- That both might raigne in hell for company?
 Did you not take of *Georgio Bucciardo*
- 1940 One hundred thousand Ducats from the *Turke*,
 To kill his brother *Gemen Ottamon*?
 Haue you not kept the Pearle of *Italie*,
Astor Manfredi that young vertuous Prince,
 In beastly lust, and filthy *Sodomie*.
- 1945 Blasting the blossome of his toward youth?
 Haue you not now giuen order for the death
 Of my deere Sister, whom your passions caus'd
 To kill her latter husband *Di Viselli*,
 And robd the noble Earle of his new spowse,
- 1950 Onely to cloake your vile impiety,
Ale. Cæsar the Diuill hath bin thy Schole-maister.
Cæs. I passe your secret counsell with the diuill,
 Your Auarice, ambition, perfidie,
 Your bloudie plots, inhumane crueltie,
- 1955 Why then vpbrayd yee mee with *Candies* death?
 A bastard of our house, degenerate,
 In whom no sparke or spiracle of honor,
 Appear'd to raise the race of *Borgia*.
 But had I beene Lieutenant of your forces,
- 1960 This arme had conquer'd all *Romania*,
France before this had trembled, *Spaine* had stoop'd,
 The *Romaine* Emperor had faun'd vpon vs.
 King *Charles* had beene restrain'd, *Frederick* expulsd,
 And *Naples* had beene made our heritage.
- 1965 *Alex.* A triple ioy succeeds a single griefe,
 I haue engag'd all to make *Cæsar* great,
Cæsar it suteth with thy grace and glory,
 To cloake my vices, I will pardon thine,
 Let one of vs excuse an others crimes,
- 1970 And for this bloody fact so lately done.
 As thou didst cunningly begin proceed,
 To lay the guilt or imputation
 On them whose death may doe thee benefit :
 And neuer was my soule better contented,
- 1975 Then that our woes are with rich hopes preuented.

Cæs. Now

Cæs. Now stands *Romania* subiect to my sword.

Imola furli, Camerine, and Vrbine

Shall haue the first charge, if I there succeed,

Haue forward farther with a better speed,

1980 *Cæsar o nullo* written in my guydon,

When with my troopes victoriously I ride on.

Alex. Holla *Bernardo*, call in *Caraffa* with *Bentiuoli* : *Enter*

Ay now now now, my precious boy, my *Cæsar*,

Barn :

Prosecute as thou hast begunne,

1985 With *Arte*, looke sullaine and demure,

Hold downe thy head, like one swolne vp with sorrow,

Enter Caraffa with Bentiuoli.

They come, they come, say that those armes were put on,

In reuenge of *Candies* death.

1990 The soueraigne medicine of things past cure,

Is for to beare with patience and forget,

Cæsar hath vowde reuenge for *Candies* death,

And in regarde of *Cæsars* piety,

I make him generall in his brothers place.

1995 *Cæs.* And neuer shall I sheath this sword in peace

Till it haue wrought vpon the murtherer.

Caraf. Happy successe accompany my Lord,

And in your battles giue you victory.

Bent. Is order taken for his funerals.

2000 *Cæs.* *Bentiuoli* take you no thought for that,

That is the greatest care, which troubles me.

Alex. Come on my Lords, we will aduise within,

For I must haue your counsels in my griefe. *Exeunt omnes.*

SCEN. 3.

2005 *Enter Lucretia richly attired with a Phyal*
in her hand.

Luc. Kinde *Lodowike* hadst thou presented me,

With *Persian* clothes of gold or *Tinsilry*,

With rich *Arabian* Odors, pretious stones,

2010 Or what braue women hold in highest price,

Could not haue beene so gracious as this tincture,

Which I more valew then my richest iewels,

Oh

Oh *Motticilla*.

Enter Motticilla.

Bring me some mixtures and my dressing boxes,

2015 This night I purpose priuately to sup

With my Lord Cardinall of *Capua*.

*Enter two Pages with a Table, two looking glasses, a box with
Combes and instruments, a rich bowle.*

Bring me some blanching water in this bowle.

Exit Motti.

2020 *Shee looketh in her glasse.*

Here I perceiue a little riueling

Aboue my for-head but I wimple it

Either with iewels or a lock of haire,

And yet it is as white as the pure snow :

2025 O God when that sweet *Marques Mantoua*,

Did in *Ferrara* feast my Lord and mee,

What rich comparisons and similies,

He with ingenious fantafie deuiss'd,

Doting vpon the whitenesse of my browes ?

2030 As that betwixt them stood the chaire of state,

Compos'd of Iuorie for the *Paphian* Queene :

Sitting in comfort after amorous conquest.

And kist my for-head twenty thousand times.

Oft haue I wisht the coulour of this haire

2035 More bright, and not of such a *Spanish* dye,

And yet the Duke of *Bourbon* on his knees,

As the diuine fauour of this world,

Did beg one lock to make a Bracelet,

For which few haire he garnished my head

2040 With Iewels worth six thousand crownes at least.

My beaming eyes yet full of Maiesty,

Dart loue, and giue bright luster to the glasse,

As when the sunne beames touch a Diamond.

The Prince of *Salerne* solemnly did sweare,

2045 These eies were quiuers which such shafts did beare

That were so sharpe, and had such fierie touch,

As *Cupids* Arrowes neuer had so much,

The Rosie Garden of these amorous cheekes,

My nose the gracious forte of conquering loue,

2050 Breathing attractiue odors to those louers

- That languish and are vanquisht with desire,
Gonzaga calleth it the siluer pearch,
 Where *Venus* turtles mutuall pleasure search.
 Sweet mouth the Ruby port to Paradise
- 2055 Of my worlds pleasure from whence issue forth,
 Many false brags, bold sallies, sweet supplies,
 A chinne the matchles fabricke of faire nature,
 A necke two brests vpon whose cherry niples.
 So many sweet solcions *Cupid* suckt,
- 2060 Giue me some blanching water in this boule,
 Wash my face *Motticilla* with this cloth,
 So tis well, now will I try these collours.
 Giue me that oyle of *Talck*,
 Take sarsnet *Motticilla* smooth my forehead,
- 2065 *She looketh in two glasses and beholdeth her body.*
 I must delay this colour is it carnation right,
Mot. Oh the true tincture of a damask rose,
Luc. What is it excellent.
Mot. Most full of life.
- 2070 And madame thats a pretious liniment,
 As euer I beheld to smooth the browes.
Luc. I will correct these arches with this mullet,
 Plucke not to hard, beleeeue me *Motticilla*,
 You plucke to hard.
- 2075 I feele a foule stincke in my nostrells,
 Some stinke is vehement and hurts my braine,
 My cheekes both burne and sting ; giue me my glasse.
 Out out for shame I see the blood it selfe,
 Dispersed and inflamed, giue me some water.
- 2080 *Motticilla rubbeth her cheekes with a cloth.*
- Lucretia looketh in the glasse.*
- My braines intoxicate my face is scalded.
 Hence with the glasse : coole coole my face, rancke poyson,
 Is ministred to bring me to my death,
- 2085 I feele the venime boyling in my veines.
Mot. Ah me deere Lady ; what strang leoprosie?
 The more I wash the more spreads on your face.

Lucre.

THE DIVILS CHARTER.

[59]

Luc. Send to my father ; call phisitions in,
Oh *Candie* where art thou my comforter,
2090 Dead and intomb'd ; *Lucrece* must follow thee,
I burne I burne, oh where is my deere Lord.
My braines are seard vp with some fatall fire.

Enter a seruant and Phisition with Motticila.

Ser. Deere Lady cheere your selfe, be not dismayd,
2095 His Holines in hast hath sent releife :
His owne Phisition to recomfort you.

Luc. For our deere Ladies passion bring some water to coole
my thirst.

Phi. Madam you may not drinke,
2100 Till you receaue this one preseruatiue.

Luc. A foule vnsauoric loathsome stinke choakes vp
My vitall sences : and a boyling heat
suppes vp the liuely spirit in my lungs.

Phi. This poyson spreads and is incurable,
2105 Madame receiue one precious antidote.

Luc. What haue I caught you *Sforza*,
Who painted my faire face with these foule spots,
You see them in my soule deformed blots,
Deliuier me from that murdered man,
2110 He comes to stab my soule I wounded him,
Oh *Gismond Gismond* hide those bleeding wounds,
My soule bleeds drops of sorrow for thy sake ;
Looke not so wrathfull I am penitent,
Loue and remorse did harbour in thine hart,

2115 What doest thou becken to me I will come,
And follow thee through millions of woes.

Phi. Sweet Lady will you take a little rest,
It will refresh your spirits instantly.

Luc. No rest vntill I see my Lord againe.

2120 *Mot.* Deere Lady doe you loue your life, take rest,

Shee taketh hold of Motticila.

Luc. From the pure burning coles of true contrition.
Me thinks I see the liuely counterfet,
Of catiue *Cressed* in her misery,
2125 Ingenderd out of hir disloyalty,

Ah *Moticilla* whome I trained vp
 In cunning sleights and snares of filthinesse,
 Forgiue me for that sinne ; liue and repent.

Mot : Oh God forgiue me for my sinnes are great,
 2130 And if his goodnesse lend my life some space,
 I will with pennance call on him for grace,
 And spend the remnant of my life in prayer.

Luc : I can no more, death summoneth my soule,
 Open thy bosome father *Ahraham*,
 2135 Mercyfull father let thy mercy passe
 Extend thy mercy where no mercy was.
 Mercyfull father for thy sonnes deere merrit
 Pardon my sinnfull soule receiue my spirrit. *Expirat Lucrece.*

Phi : Now is her soule at rest tis very strange,
 2140 As well the cause as manner of her death,
 I haue beene studied in *Hipocrates*,
 In bookes of *Gallen* and olde *Auecine*,
 Obseru'd the cures of diuers learned doctors,
 In *France* in *Spaine* and higher *Germany*,
 2145 Yet neuer met with such an accicent,
 Beare in her body I will in all hast,
 Bring wofull newes vnto saint *Peeters Pallace*,
 His Holinesse will grieuiously lament. *Exeunt omnes.*

SCÆ. 4.

2150 *Enter Cæsar and Barbarossa souldiers drums and trumpets.*

Cæs : Fellows in armes after our victories,
 Had in the first front of our happie warr,
 With men of hardy resolution,
 Now must we bend our forces against *Furly*,
 2155 Where that prowd *Amazonian Katharine*,
 Dareth defiance in the face of warr,
 And yet our hopes are sure, all passage cleere,
 And she before I lodge this restles head,
 Shall beare the bondage of this victorie.

2160 *Bar* : These proud presuming spirrits of vaine women,
 Whose bloodlesse woundes are only bloody words,
 Talke without reason, fight without resistance,

But

But on the face of grimme deuouring Warre,
With frowning fore-head menacing his force.
2165 They fall downe on their backs as *Venus* did,
When *Mars* beheld her with a Souldiers face,

Cæs. Nay we must fight : I know the puissant spirit
Of warlike *Kate* the pride of *Italie*,
Sforzaes braue sister and old *Riarioes* widdow,
2170 Excellent valour, and deepe policie
Must winne it, if we purchase at her hands.

Bar. And yet we be before-hand with the Lady,
Hauing surprized her treasure and her sonnes,
As they were making their escape for *Florence* :

2175 What shall we trie renowned generall?
And search her resolution.

Cæs. Shall wee? doubt you not,
Nay though the walles of *Furly* were of steele,
These pledges should make passage for our powers,
2180 And what? shall we stoope for those twenty Ensignes,
Which this last night haue enter'd their Ports,
Nay were they ten to one within those walles,
Cæsar (that carries Fortune in his Standerd)
Would make them giue ground & subiect them-selues.

2185 *Bar.* Speake then at once renowned generall,
Shall we go Souldier-like to worke at first?
Shall we salute her with our Cannon?

Cæs. What? no *Barbarossa* not without a parlee,
Fore-God I loue her, and admire her valour,
2190 And till we finde her words prooue empty squibs,
We giue her all the noble rights of warre,
Summon a parlee. *Sound drum, answer Trumpets.*

*Enter vpon the walles Countesse Katherine, Iulio Sforza,
Ensigne, souldiers, Drummes, Trumpets.*

2195 What haue wee *Pallas* come vpon these walles,
To bring confusion of our companies :
Doth proud *Penthesilea* liue againe,
Which some-time raging in the Fields of blood,
Made passage with her angry sword through millions.

- 2200 *Kat.* I tell thee *Cæsar* sonne of *Alexander*
 A booke befits thee better then a blade :
 Percase in scorne thou wilt reply the like,
 A distaffe fits me better then a pike.
 Know *Cæsar* had I now so many liues
- 2205 As here are stoanes or haire vpon your beards,
 I would forgo them al before this honor,
 Which my deere Lord *Riario* did leaue mee,
 The pledge of my deere loue his Childrens patrimony.
Cæs. Speake in a milder key renowned *Kate*,
- 2210 I loue you well and all braue *Sforzaes* race
 Yet you must yeeld there is no remedy,
 It is the Churches right and I must haue it.
Kath. Me thinkes a pulpet were more fit for thee,
 But did'st thou euer reade Saint *Gregory* :
- 2215 That he which hunteth for authority,
 Himselfe should gouerne direct and know well;
 He did a deede of danger that aduanc'd thee,
 For proud ambition violates all right.
Cæs. Be not so bitter *Kate* a friend intreates you,
- 2220 But if intreaties will not, looke vpon mee :
 Heere standeth *Cæsar*, the sharpe scourge of *Furly*
 And were your fort fenc'd with as many men,
 As it is girt with stones *Cæsar* would haue it.
 Subdue them and make pillage of their goods
- 2225 And in resistance seale it with their blouds.
Kat. What are your weapons sheathed in your throates?
 Is euery word a sword then shake hands *Cæsar* :
 Venter no further and we will be friends
 But if your words haue accents in keene swords,
- 2230 And end in bloud, then *Cæsar* looke on me :
 I with defiance turne swords in your throates,
 You shall not thrust that imputation
 Vpon our sex, for I will fight it out
 So long as I can stand vpon these walls.
- 2235 *Cæs.* You would repent it, if you knew the worst,
 Consider *Kate* be well aduised first.
Kat. *Cæsar* at one word to discharge my conscience,

Were

Were there a Cannon there to be discharg'd
 Vpon this fruitfull wombe the nurse of Children,
 2240 And I sure peece mell to be torne withall,
 If I would not surrender vp this forte
 Your Cannon shot should plowe these bowells vp,
 That vow to God and my deere husband made :
 I neuer will infringe with perfedy :
 2245 I know thee bloody *Cæsar* : the dishonor,
 In yeelding vp thy reuerend purple roabes
 Which should protect widowes and Orphanes rightes,
 Appeareth well in taking vniust armes,
 To wrong the Widowes and the Fatherlesse
 2250 Either fight *Cæsar* or forsake the field,
 Perswade thy selfe aliuie I will not yeeld.
Cæs. Then I will shew you what warres desteny,
 Prognosticates, bring forth her ransome hither
 2255 *Barbarossa bringeth from Cæsars Tent*
hir two boyes.
 If nature be not quite extinguished
 These pledges shall enfranchise you from warre
 I brought them to this purpose; that in them,
 You with your friends might liue in liberty.
 2260 *Kat.* Neuer but with advantages deere Lord,
 Monster of misery what think'st thou *Cæsar*
 That I will yeeld mine honor for their safety?
 Be not deceiu'd thou hast surpriz'd my Children,
Riarioes riches left in my tuition
 2265 And borne out of these bowells; but deere boyes,
 Courage your selues I will defend your honors :
 I tell thee *Cæsar* these my boyes are taught
 To beare with patience fates ineuitable
 These carry *Sforzaes* spirit and their fathers;
 2270 I dare gage life and aske them they will chuse,
 To lack their liues before they loose their honors.
Cæs. *Cæsar* in this hath offered like himselfe,
 He proffereth to preserue your towne vntouch't :
 Your goods, your wiues, your liues, your liberties :
 2275 But marke what fruites thy bitternesse brings forth,

To make thine hard heart infamous for euer,
 Before thy face these boyes shall loose their liues
 If thou surrender not without more parlee.

Kath. Bloudy *Busyris* I defie thy malice,

2280 I spit defiance in thy cowards face.

Traytour to God and man had'st thou beene *Cæsar*,
 Insisting on high tearmes of worth and honor
 Thou woul'st consider that their bloud is Noble,
 Thou wouldst consider that they be but children,

2285 Thou wouldst consider that thou art a warriar
 And that such noble bloud spilt with dishonor
 And train'd in with insideous trechery,
 By God nor man in heauen nor earth below
 Can be forgotten or abolished.

2290 *Barb.* Braue generall you parlee with a woman,
 Whose heart is obstinate, whose hands are freeble,
 Seemeth in vaine and ouer tedious.

Cæsar. Speake at a word cannon is my next parlee,
 You will not yeeld your state to saue their liues.

2295 *Kath.* I will not *Cæsar*.

Cæs. Cut of both their heads.

1. *Boy.* Let vs intreat our mother noble generall,
 For to deliuer vp the state of *Furly*
 And will you saue our liues then.

2300 2. *Boy.* Good Captaine do not kill vs.

Cæs. If she will yeeld the state your liues are safe.

1. *Boy.* Good mother for my fathers sake that's dead,
 And for mine Vncles sake part of your bowells
 And for our owne sakes yeeld your selues and saue vs.

2305 2. *Boy.* Good sweete mother saue vs.

Kat. Poore boies, in heart vnlike *Riarioes* race,
 Or *Sforzaes* warlike linnage by the mother
 Know what it is die with liberty,
 And liue with ignomineous seruitude.

2310 If you your liues buy with the losse of states
 It were of all extreameties the vilest
 But in extreamety to die resolu'd
 Preseruing state and reputation :

- Is said to dye within the bed of honour,
 2315 This is an honor for *Riarioes* children,
 And for my part, it neuer shall be sayd,
 That *Katherine* being strong vpon hir garde,
 Hauing good forces able to defend,
 In brutish feare should giue away your states,
 2320 I rather will obtrude my selfe vnarm'd,
 And meete the thickest ranckes that enter breach,
 To be tost vp vpon their souldiers pikes,
 Sooner I will set all the towne on fire,
 And with my soldiers sacrifice my selfe,
 2325 Rather then render vp your heritage,
Cæs. Oh brauely spoken warlike *Amazon*.
1. Boy. Mother we scorne death in respect of honor
 Let him performe his worst, we feare him not,
 Courage sweete brother, thinke vpon my father,
 2330 I will dye first, be not affraid of death.
Cæs. Why then you are resolu'd to dye?
1. Boy. I to dye *Cæsar*.
Cæs. Bring hether both their heads.
Kath. Gods blessing rest with you my dearest sonnes
 2335 And if I loose your states, my life shall follow,
 Nothing but violence shall force it from vs,
 Ere long this quarrell twixt vs will stand euen :
 Farewell deere boyes, till we three meete in heauen.
2. Boy. Ah deere Mother, sweete mother, good Vncle *Iulio*
 2340 saue our liues.
Cæs. Away with him.
2. Boy. Let me before I dye, but kisse my mother.
Kath. What wouldst thou runne againe into my wombe?
 If thou wert here thou shouldst be *Posthumus*,
 2345 And ript out of my sides with soldiers swords,
 Before I would yeeld vp thine heritage.
1. Boy. Come brother let vs brauely dye together.
Cæs. I tell thee when that these haue lost their heads,
 I will make sacke and pillage of your state,
 2350 Man, women, Orphanes, all put to the sword,
 This hath your obstinacie wrought in vs,

Carry then hence, bring hether both their heads. *Exeunt with*
 And then a charge vpon this valiant Lady, *the boyes,*

This *Thamyris*, this proud *Semeramis*,

2355 Whose valour *Barbarossa* by these heauens,
 Is very wonderfull and glorious.

Kate. Had he more force, what would this tirant do?

Cæs. A charge, a charge.

Kat. For Gods sake charge, a charge let vs to fight.

2360 *Cæs*. A spirit full of vengeance, wrath, and spite,
 Assault, assault, charge noble hearts a charge.

*A charge with a peale of Ordinance : Cæsar after two retreates
 entreth by scalado, her Ensigne-bearer slaine : Katherin recou-
 reth the Ensigne, & fighteth with it in her hand. Heere she sheweth
 2365 excellent magnanimity. Cæsar the third time repulsed, at length
 entreth by scalado, surpriseth her, bringeth her downe with some
 prisoners. Sound Drums and Trumpets.*

Cæs. Couragious *Kate*, you that would throw defiance
 Into the face and throate of fate and *Cæsar*,
 2370 Such are the fruites of pride and wilfulnesse.
 Haue I perform'd my word? are you surpriz'd?
 Is not your life and liuing in my power?

Kat. Now that my sonnes first by insidious meanes,
 Bereaued of their liues, and their states lost,
 2375 The date of my calamities is out,
 Goe forward with thy tyrannie, strike *Cæsar*,
 And take away the Mother with her sonnes :
 This done, recount what is thy victory.

A woman with two children vanquished,
 2380 A prize befitting the renowne of *Cæsar*.

Cæs. Come hither *Katherine* wonder of thy sex,
 The grace of all *Italian* woman-hood :
Cæsar shall neuer prooue dishonourable,
 Behold thy children liuing in my Tent.

2385 *He discovereth his Tent where her two sonnes were at Cardes.*

2. *Boy*. Oh mother, mother, are you come, wee be not dead.

1. *Boy*. Good mother, thanke the Captaine, we liue yet,
 They gaue vs spices, wines, and bad vs welcome,

I pray

I pray you thanke them.

2390 *Kate.* Oh but your lands and honors are both lost,
Had not an honorable death beene better :
Then thus to loose your states and liuely-hoods.
Heroike souldier, whose deceit is honour.
Thou that hast vnexpected sau'd the liues

2395 Of my two children, I submit them here
Thy captiues, for their ransome what is fitt.

Cæs. I freely pardon these two boyes their ransome,
Lady behold thy treasure in my Tent,
Had I not wonne this towne, this hadst thou lost,
2400 See Souldiers that her Iewels be reseru'd
For her owne seruice, now the quarrell ends.

Kat. But noble *Cæsar* well intreate our people,
They be men valiant, ciuill, obedient,
If you their Magistrates intreate them well.

2405 *Cæs.* Take you the charge of *Furly, Barbarossa,*
Intreate the people well, do not restraine them,
We freely pardon all of them their ransomes,
So much as is in vs, we pardon all,
Vse them as Cittizens of *Rome* in fauor,
2410 Other instructions you shall haue here-after :
Till then regarde your charge, and so farewell.

Enter with a drum, Barbarossa, Soldiers.
Lady, your selfe, with your two little babes,
I will take order shalbe sent to *Rome*,
2415 Be not dismaid, you shall bee well intreated,
You shall want nothing fitting your estates,
March with vs on our way for *Capua*.

*March Cæsar, Katherine, her two boyes, Ensignes,
Soldiers, Trumpets, Drums. Exeunt.*

2420 SCÆ. 5.
Enter Alexander out of his studie.

Alex. Bring in that *Opium*, and bowle of Wine,
Heere I must act a Trage-comœdie,
Bernardo is it well confected and prepar'd ?

2425 According to my conference with *Rotsi*.

Bernardo with a flaggon of wine and a boule

Ber. He sent it as your Holines may see,
Safe sealed vp,

Alex. Fill me that bowle of wine,

2430 *Alexander openeth a box and putteth in the powder.*

Ber. Tis a drowsie medicine, do not tast it my Lord,

Alex. Thou hast ben taster to me, many times,

Begin *Bernardo*.

Ber. My Lord I slept too much the last night and I dare not,

2435 *Alex.* It holds good colour hold here *Bernardo*,

Giue good attendance, bring them to their rest,

Then giue me notice at my study doore.

Ber. One set was past before I parted from them,
And by this time they be well heated.

2440 *Aler.* Sirra be diligent and seruiceable in this,

Euen as thou louest thy maister. *Exit Alexander into his study.*

Ber. Feare me not?

Were it not that my conscience hath bene fyer'd,

With flames of purgatory by this Pope,

2445 I neuer could endure such villany,

The best is he doth pardon all my sinnes.

Exit Bernardo.

*Enter Astor and Philippo in their wast-cotes
with rackets.*

Ast. This set was strangely lost I durst haue wagerd,

2450 An hunder'd ducats after the first chase.

Phi. You thinke you play well, but beleue me brother,

You cannot take paines nor obserue a ball,

With that dexterity which appertaineth.

Ast. Holla within there if I take no paines,

2455 My wastcote well can witnes for I sweate. *Enter Bernardo.*

Ber. Barber bring in some linnen for my Lords

Phil. Bring me some wine for I am very thirsty

Enter two Barbers with linen.

Ber. I listend for that string and he hath toucht it,

2460 *Bar.* Wilt please your Lordship sit on this low chaire?

Phil.

Phi. Rub my head first then combe it,

Ast. Fill me some wine *Bernardo*,

Ber. Good my Lord coole your selfe a litle,

Ast. Giue me wine and let it be thy labour good *Barnardo*

2465 To call for musicke. *Bernardo deliuereth wine.*

Brother in this cup I commend the loues,

Of all true *Fauentines* our trusty friends,

Hoping ere long to liue againe with them.

Phs. I thanke you brother, if our father Pope.

2470 Performe his promise we shall soone returne.

Ast. This wine was good yet tasteth of the casck,

It hath a musty rellish.

Phi. Lets here this musicke,

2475 *After the barbers had trimmed and rubbed their bodies a litle, Astor caleth.*

Ast. Holla within there.

Ber. My Lord.

Ast. I thinke it good after this little rubbing to repose my body

2480 *Phil.* I am some what heauy.

Ber. I know the cause,

Ast. And what *Bernardo*.

Ber. Marry with much motion of your bodies my Lords.

You must not be so vehement in play.

2485 I knew a noble *French* man at *Anchona*,

Twenty yeares since at tennice tooke his death.

With ouer heating of him selfe in play.

They lay them selues vpon a bed and the barbers depart.

Phi. More musicke there.

2490 *after one straine of musicke they fall a sleepe :*

Ber. My Lords are both a sleepe musicke depart.

And leaue them to their ease ; alas sweet boyes,

Is it not pittie that these noble branches,

So sweetly knit in one, should neuer wake ?

2495 I that am hard of heart sighe for their sake,

My Lord.

Bernardo knocketh at the study.

Alex. What newes man ?

Ber. Both fast a sleepe.

Alex. And both vpon one bed?

2500 *Ber.* Tis done.

Alex : And chamber voyded?

Ber. All is performed my Lord.

Alex. My blessinge rest vpon thee my *Benardo*.

Depart now with those letters I deliuerd,

2505 To be conuayd to *Florence* leaue me here.

*Alexander vpon the stage in his cassock and
nightcap with a box vnder each arme.*

Alexander solus.

Sleepe both secure vpon your fatall bed,

2510 Now that the God of silence *Morpheus*,
Hath with his signet of black horne seal'd vp,
Your langued eye lids loaden with pale death,
Sleepe vntill you draw your latest breath,
Poore harmeles boyes strangers to sinne and euill,

2515 Oh were my soule as innocent as yours!

This office is of highest consequence,

In friendship for I consider it,

I sent you from a million of sorrows,

Into the flowry fields of Paradice.

2520 Their to goe habit in the groues of mirtle,
To feed on *Manna* and to drinke pure *Nectar*,
A cup of euerlasting happines.

Where such sweet musick vn-con-ceiueable,

Shall entertaine your senses in sweet comfort,

2525 As the delight thereof shall neuer die

Astor what *Astor* speake awake *Phillippo*,

Both fast a sleepe.

*He stireth and moueth them opening
both their bosomes.*

Now *Roderick* betake thee to thy taske,

2530 What? peace *Astor* begins to talke I will attend.

Astor speaketh in his sleepe.

Ast. Faire gracious Angell of eternall light,

Which reachest out that hand of happines.

Hayling my spirit to that triumphant throne,

2535 Of endles comfort I adore thy grace.

Phili.

Phi. In his sleepe. Oh goulden light of neuer setting Sunne,
Harke brother *Astor* harke my soule is rapt,
Into the ioyes of heauen with harmony.

Alex. Doe they not sleepe? are they not yet a sleepe?
2540 Be not their sences yet lockt vp in sleepe.

he stirreth them.

Astor awake awake, awake *Philippe*.
All safe and sure; oh this was but a dreame,
Their *Genius* hath fore told them of their end,
2545 And ioyfully they doe shake hands with death.

He draweth out of his boxes aspiks.

Come out here now you *Cleopatraes* birds.
Fed fat and plump with proud *Egyptian* slime,
Of seauen mouth'd *Nylus* but now turn'd leane:

2550 *He putteth to either of their
breasts an Aspike.*

Take your repast vpon these Princely paps.
Now *Ptolamies* wife is highly magnified,
Ensigning these faire princely twins their death,
2555 And you my louely boyes competitors,
With *Cleopatra* share in death and fate.
Now *Charon* stayes his bote vpon the strond,
And with a rugged for head full of wrath'
He thrusts a million from the shore of Stix,
2560 To giue you waftage to the *Elisian* fields,
I see their coulors chang and death sittes heauy.
On their fayre foreheads with his leaden mace.
My birds are glutted with this sacrifice.

2565 *He taketh of the Aspiks and putteth
them vp in his box.*

What now proud wormes? how taste yon princes blood.
The slaues be plump and round; in to your nests,
Is there no token of the serpents draught,
All cleere and safe well now faire boyes good-night.
2570 *Bernardo, Bernardo*, the feate is done,

Vse thy discretion as I did direct. *Exit Alexander.*

Ber. Tis done in deed alas they both be dead:
Now must I follow my directions,

Holla

Holla within there.

*Enter Cardinall Caraffa
with Bentiuoli.*

2575 *Car.* What newes *Bernardo* ?

Ber. Alas my Lord ill newes,
But that his Holinesse is fast a sleepe,
And this day stir'd not from his bed-chamber
I would haue brought him to this wofull sight :

2580 Prince *Astor* with *Phillippo* was at Tennis,
And being ouer-heated at their game,
Drinking so suddainly vpon that heate,
With much sweete Wine did surfet instantly,
And here alas lye dead vpon this bed.

2585 *Bent.* Alas it is a ruthfull spectacle,
Two princely boyes of noble disposition,
Endued with honorable gifts of vertue.

Car. Of gracious fauour, wise, and liberall.
Phaenzaes hope : *Bernardo* beare them in,

2590 His Holynesse will much bemone their fate.

Bent. My Lord, my Lord, I do not like of this.

Caraf. Peace man, no more do I, but beare with patience.

Bent. It is suspicious but we may not talke,
Come let vs in, oh God !

2595 *Car.* Oh God what times are these.

Exeunt omnes.

Guicchiardine.

After the bloody Duke *Valentinoys*
Had conquered *Furly*, with the warlick Lady,
By wily force he tooke in *Capua*,

2600 Then through insidious sleights and treacheries,
He did surprize the state of *Camerine*,
Where he captiued *Iulio di Varana*,
With his two sonnes all which he strangled,
With semblable tyranny proud *Cæsar*,

2605 On termes of trust meetes with the Duke *Grauina*,
And *Vitellozzo* with the prince of *Fermo* :
Whome he betraide at *Sinigaglia*,
Bereauing them both of their states and liues,
He conquereth *Vrbín* ; and with violence,

Perfor-

2610 Performeth strange and hiddeous outrages.
 By this time with his forces backe to *Rome*,
Cæsar is marching ; what betyded there,
 Endes in the subject of this Tragedie.

ACTVS. 5. SCÆ. I.

2615 *Enter Cæsar after a florish of trumpets with Drums, ensignes,*
soldiours. Barbarossa, Cardinall Caraffa
Bentiuogli. Baglioni.

Cæsa. Now that by cunning force and pollicie,
 All the free states and citties of *Romania*
 2620 Subiected are vnto the Church of *Rome*.
 And that our pikes and swordes in blood and slaughter,
 Are staine and sheath'd quiet in our scabberds,
 Our blood and wounds stanch'd and bound vp in scarfs.
 Let vs for this could season of the yeare,
 2625 Rest vs and cheere our selues till the next spring.
 And then march forward with alacrity.
 Braue *Barbarossa* take these souldiers,
 Vnto some quarter where by sound of drum,
 According to their muster giue them pay,
 2630 Let them be satisfied and so dischargd.
 Fellowes in armes faithfull and valiant,
 I thanke you for your paines and honesties,
 In token of our good heart to your seruice,
 Wee giue each common soldier more then pay,
 2635 Two ducates : and all other officers.
 According to their place redoubled,
 With many thanks for your exceeding valor,
 Assuring you that in these warres with vs,
Cæsar shall make you Captaines of your spoyles,
 2640 And so doth he commend you to your ease.
Sold. A Cæsar a Cæsar God saue Cæsar. *Exit Barba.*
Sound trumpets and a florish with drums
marching with soldiars.

- Cæsa.* Sirra come hether you must wayte on me.
 2645 My good Lord Cardinall and *Bentiuoli*,
 Much thanks and deere acceptance of your loues,
 I louingly returne for your great paines.
Caraff. His Holinesse gaue vs in serious charge,
 To giue you greeting and withall prepares
 2650 A sumptuous feast for that solemnity,
 To which he doth inuite the Cardinalls
 With other Lords your fauourers in *Rome*.
Cæs. Humbly commend my duty to my father
 Tell him this night I purpose to be with him,
 2655 *Pointing at letters in his hand.*
 Tell him I liue in health and touching these,
 I pray you certifie his Holinesse,
 I will haue speciall care : and so my Lords
 For a small season I will take my leaue.
 2660 *Ben.* We do congratulate your safe returne.
Exit Caraffa & Bent. Cæsar looketh on his letters.
Cæs. Come hither *Baglioni* speake sincerely,
 Knowst thou *Brandino Rotsi* th'apothecary.
Bag. What I my gracious Lord ? know I my selfe ?
 2665 *Cæs.* How should I know that sir ?
Ba. May it please your highnes he serues his Holines.
Cæ. He did indeed sometime and for his villanies,
 Is worthily cast of ; but tell me sirra :
 Thou do'st remember how for breach of armes
 2670 When thou didst stab a certaine lance-prizado :
 I pardon'd thee thy life.
Bag. True my good Lord I very well remember,
 He was a lowsie villaine, marry was he,
 And if he liued yet such is my stomacke,
 2675 That were he chopt in mammoakes I could eate him :
 But for that honour in a souldiers word
 Ile spend my life to do your highnesse seruice.
Cæs. Hast thou thy peece then ready.
Bag. Oh my good Lord lies fix, sound as a bell,

With

- 2680 With all my warlike furniture beside
 Good flask and touch-box, a *Valentia* blade
 A slauish dagger, powder of *Rhemes* and bulletes
 Here they beene.
- Cæs.* Somtime this after-noone within the parke,
 2685 Next, to the *Vattcan*, *Ratsie* wilbe :
 And as I know thee stout and resolute,
 Bestow a bullet on him as he passeth ;
 Few words ; if any man attach thee for it,
 By my protection thou shalt be enlarged.
- 2690 *Bag.* And if I do not my good Lord damme me for it
 I haue an old grudge at him cole black curre,
 He shall haue two steele bullets strongly charg'd
 Nay but heere me my Lord ?
 Ile tell you what,
- 2695 By this true fox of steele
 I had as good a spaniell for the water,
 As euer hunted ducke : and this true villaine
 Because my dog did eate vp a pannado
 Within his house ; what did that *Spanish* roague ?
- 2700 What did he thinke you my Lord ?
 Marry very faire and instantly
 Poyson d my Spaniell with *Rosa-solis*,
 A pox on him micher, faith ile pay him his olde fippence for't
 now.
- 2705 *Cæs.* Take this to buy thee clothes my trusty seruant,
 Nay tis gold be not affeard of it.
Bag. Affeard my Lord
 Were it a tempest in a showre of gold
 I would indure it and adore you for't.
- 2710 *Cæs.* Then *Baglion* fit thee, to thy furniture,
 Watch in a corner close beyond some tree :
 And when the deed is done repaire to me :
 Say that thy peece went off against thy will,
 Keepe a light match in cock, weare flaske and touch-box :
- 2715 And take a murren with thee so fare-well ;

Thus must I diue deepe in a villaines nature,
 And thus must saue a villaine from the gallows
 To play my partes in others purposes.
 The man whome I to benefit would choose,

2720 I must in matters of more moment vse :
 Or els I will not benefit a man,
 And cut him of in sequell if I can.

Bag. Here me, but my good Lord marke my words well,
 If old *Henrilico* shrink in this seruice

2725 Casseir him, call him whip-stock, let him perish,
 For want of *Spanish* wines, and maluasie.

Cæs. Then faile not my true seruant finely, closely. *Exit Cæs.*

Bag. No more, but by this crosse,
 Why now this Noble *Cæsars* like himself,
 2730 Hath fitted me with seruice : if the world,
 Had sought out som-what to content a man,
 Nothing could better please old *Ballion*
 Then to kill a raskall, coward, curre,
 A *Spanish* squirt-vp, a black poysning toade.

2735 I like this trading better then the warres
 For there I serue for two ducates a month,
 And not a duck egge richer when I march
 And in continuall hazard of my life
 For which percase my peece kills twenty persons :

2740 Now shall I march in purse with many ducates,
 For one houres seruice but to kill one man,
 Free from all danger of mine enemy,
 I will about it and take vp my stand. *Exit.*

Enter Bernardo.

2745 *Bern.* Thus doth one hideous act succeed an other,
 Vntill the mouth of mischeife be made vp :
 Now must I traine my fellow to his death,
 A deed of ruth and I did sweare the same,
 Not only for the secrecy thereof.

But

- 2750 But to conceale a matter of more weight,
Of greater moment and high cruelty :
When any deed of murther must be done,
To serue his Holinesse, call for *Bernardo*.
He must be principall or accessary
- 2755 To serue all purposes; for gold or pardone,
The Pope giues both; and I can take them both :
Gold can make hard the softest conscience,
And mine is harden'd by the practise of it.
Holla Signeor Bandino. *He knocketh at a dore,*

2760 *Enter Rotsie.*

Rot. Who calls without there? what my good fellow *Bernardo*?
Very welcome : what newes with you?

Ber. My Lord hath sent me for the things he spake of.

Rot. Here they be very strong and sufficiently compounded

- 2765 According to directions from his Holinesse,
And speciall warrant vnder his priuy signet
I tried them on three men condemn'd to death :
For rapine and vile murther : but the first
Within lesse then one quarter of an houre,
- 2770 Puft vp, grew leaprous and his heart strings broke:
Then did I giue allay the second time,

Enter Baglioni with his peece.

The second prizoner died within three houres

I did the third time mittigate, a little,

- 2775 And saw when it was minister'd the third man,
Who did within eight houres swell, rage and die.

Ber. Well haue you done your part, set downe your bottels,
And read this letter from the Duke *Valentinoys*,

He setteth downe his bottels and

himselfe readeth to himselfe.

- 2780 *Bag.* Well sayd braue *Pincoginger*, by mine honour
Before I do this seruice lie there peece.
For I must haue a saying to these bottels,

He drinketh.

K 3

True

True stingo stingo by mine honour. Oh that mine old friend
 2785 and *Boccadillio Frescobaldi* Weare heare alieue againe to taste of
 this other bottle, Well I will venter vpon it, that I may drinke
 one health To *Frescobaldi*; I will encounter with this stout *Hec-
 torean, Greeke*.

Were *Meleager* here that slew the boore.

2790 Like a *Boracchio* armed all in sacke,
 Or stoute *Achilles* in a pewter coate,
 Or old *Assaracus* armed in a wicker Iyrkin,
 Or *Priamus* armed with a leather Iacket,
 Lin'd and imboast with Alligant and Hollock
 2795 By forch of armes and *Mars* his valiant hand,
 I would encounter them whilst I could stand.
 The flaues are buisie reading their paphlagonian papers,
 I must haue a saying to you sir I must; though,
 You be prouided for his Holines owne mouth; I will be,
 2800 Bould to be the Popes taster by his leaue.
 Now trusty *Troylus*, *base los manos*.

Rot. Let him alone it is the Dukes pleasure,
 That if he will taste he shall be suffered,
 And therefore I was commanded to set them downe,
 2805 In presence of such a fellow whome for his sawcinesse,
 I haue pepered.

Bern. Oh tis a perilous villeine if you knew him so well as I,
 beleue me he would peper you for it if he vnderstood so much,
 peace man he hath broken vp the bottle let him drinke.

2810 *Rotsi.* Nay let him drinke and burst, for beleue me I was
 enform'd before of such a fellowe; for whome I was comman-
 ded to lay bate; oh notable villeine, how he sealeth death.

Brg. This is a Noble nipster ifaith, so so. *He drinckth.*
 Backe againe to kennell slaue.

2815 *Rot.* He hath his full wages dout not *Bernardo*, to serue him
 till he die, seeme not to respect him in any case doe I pray you.

Ber. Nay but doe not you respect him, least he doubte you
 suspect him.

Rot. Oh doubt you not, doubt you not, I wil neuer looke, let vs
 turn

2820 turne our talke. Tell his Holinesse tis well compounded and composed of all those drugges mentioned in your letter. giue the Duke right humble thanks for his token, and with all reuerence kisse his excellent hand.

Bern. And by this signet you are to deliuer me the bottles.

2825 *Rot.* Haue a care of them and deliuer them.

Bernardo reccaueth the bottles.

Ber. Farewell fellow *Rotsi*.

Rot. Adieu *Bernardo*.

Ber. Now doe not I pittie this *Spanish* villaine because hee
2830 consented to the poysoning of this soldier, but for that I am innocent.

They goe forth two seuerall wayes and Roti is shot by Baglioni.

Bag. What is the wild goose fallen? haue at you Sir, might a
2835 poore soldier speake halfe a score woords to your vncious worship and according to your accustomed surlinesse haue no replyall : I beleue you sir, your wordes are not offenciue in any sort I must confesse. Now thou infectious slaue, thou compictious Rascal, thou confectionary villeine : where is you sublimatum
2840 now sir? where is your Ratsbanatum now? now where are your poysoned pullets in stued-broth? where bee they? you neuer drempt of a poysoned bullet, did you goe too? now *Sigmar curri-gantino* will I romage in the worme eaten keele of your rotten hulke : passion of my soule what papers are these. Foh powder,
2845 powder foh, whats here, I marry sir I like this well, are you so pursie sir, this may serue to stop a gap in my neighbours hedg, what is this you show me with a shame to you, yea and maister of the small ordinance to, this *Basilisk* hath beene often mounted where there hath beene hot and dangerous surliee in the Ile
2850 of *Iapan*, hold passion of me my guts, out vpon thee thou hast poysoned mee with thy stinking breath or with thy villonous powders, out alas alas what fire commotions I feele in my bodie gryping fretting and fuming, a plague on your
bottle

bottle ale with a vengeance, I am peppered there is no reme-
 2855 die in all these extreame agonies I must draw this villeine fur-
 further : and throw him into a ditch, *Deh veleno dell Diabolo*, fare-
 well farewell my old *Shurcordillio Frescobldi* : farewell Madam
Sempronia, for in conscience I am guilty of mine owne death oh
 the pangs of hell and purgatory ; come you lowsie Raskall I
 2860 will bury thee with carryon in the next ditch.

*He draweth in Rotsi by
 the heeles groning.*

SCÆ. 3.

Alexander, Cæsar Borgia.

2865 *Alex.* Haue you deliuered to the bottleman,
 The fatall wine.

Cæs. I I gaue charge to *Bernardo*,
 Hauing them safely seald with mine owne signet,
 That when feasting I do call for wine,

2870 He shall breake vp the seales and fill that out,
 For the two Cardinalls *Cornetto* and *Modina*.

Alex. Tis well, now if our plot proue right,
 Thou shalt be maister of much welth to night,
 Dying in estate ali comes to my share,

2875 *Caraffa* loues a sallet passing well,
 And I haue fitted one to serue his turne,
 Their gould will make thy soldiers fight in blood,
 And winge thy victories with good successe.

Cæsa. Let vs noe longer entertaine the time,
 2880 By this the Cardinalls expect our presence.

Alex. On with auspicious steps triumphant *Cæsar*.
 And entertaine them in braue iollity.

Exit.

SCÆ.

THE DIVILS CHARTER.

[81]

S.C.E. 4.

2885 *Sound loud musicke : a cupbord of plate brought
in. Enter with bottles Bernardo with
the bottleman.*

Ber. Haue spetiall care you that haue these in charge,
That these two sealed bottels be not stird,
2890 *Vntill his Holines call for that wine*
 Bot. Feare not I will attend it as my life.

*Sound trumpets solemnly, enter a table spread, Viandes brought
in : after the trumpets sound drums and ff; enter Alexander
in his pontificalls, after him Cornetto with Cesar, Barbarossa
2895 with Modina, Bentiuoli with Caraffa, the Pope taketh his
place, three Cardinalls on one side and captaines on thother.*

Alex. Martiall your selues heere sworne-men and there
Church-men.

Cæs. Here sit we swordmen to defend the Church.
2900 *Alex.* My Lords giue answere in sinceritie,
Hath not my *Cæsar* fought well for the Church?
That hath so soone subiected in her right.
*Imola, Furly, Camerino, Capua,
Vrbine, Faenza, Sinegaglia.*

2905 *Braue Cæsar* I must bost of it in presence,
That I Christes vicare of his Church on earth,
Haue such a sonne which issued from my loynes,
That being vicare of the Churches warres.
Hath in the reuolution of one year,
2910 Done more then all the generalls haue done,
In honor of our Church for fortie yeares,

Corn. Your Holines with all your Cardinalls,
Your barons and indeed all christendome
Are bound to giue God thanks for such a Prince.

L

And

2915 And him great honor for his fortitude.

*The Deuill commeth and
changeth the Popes bottles.*

Mod. Your excellence did in a blessed hower.

Surrender vp your Holy robes and hat,

2920 Betaking you to burganet and armes,

By which you might enlarge our liberties.

Car. Ifaith my Lord and soe we haue all of vs good cause to reioyce, would I had bene with your exeellence at *Capua*, I would had one bout with them as old as I am.

2925 *Cæs.* You might my Lord haue had your choyse of Ladies,
Bewtifull prisoners to be sent to *Rome*.

Cara, I marry my Lord some what might haue beene said to this geere *in diebus illis*, but *traseant cum ceteris erroribus*, would to GOD I weare as young as when I was a Scholler in *Padua*,
2930 faith then I could haue swingd a sword and a buckler, and I did that then wil being but a springall of 24. yeares which be talkt of in *Padua* these 40. yeares I warrant it faith my Lord were I so lusty now I would goe with you to the warres this next spring thats flat, wil you eate any sallet my Lord, faith here
2935 are exeellent herbes if you loue them,

Cæsa. They be my Lord too cold for my stomacke, wilt please you my Lord to drinke a cup of old *Greeke* wine with it, bring me some wine here.

Alex. Bring me some wine here I will drinke a Ioy to *Cæsar*
2940 and this Noble company.

Cæs. Some wine for his Holines owne mouth, *Bernardo*.

Wine is brought to Alexander.

Alex. *Cæsar* your selfe are master of this feast,

I drinke a good successe and victory,

2945 *Alexander drinketh, trumpets sound.*

To *Cæsar* and great happines to all.

Cæsar drinketh.

Cæsa. Happy successe and fortune to you all.

Alex. Hold *Cæsar* ; stay for wee are poysoned,
2950 *rush from the table.*

Cæsar

Cæs. My Lord it is all of.

Alex. Then art thou quite vndone.

Cæs. Some villanous conspiracie lyes hid
Within this company, and this pernicious villaine

2955 *Cæsar stabbeth Bernardo.*
Hath practiz'd with them; goe with thy soule to hell,
I feele the raging of it.

Corn. Away my Lord. *Modina* come away,
This traine was laide of purpose for our liues.

2960 *Modi,* Our refuge and defence is from above,
Let Sathan worke, he neuer shall preuaile.

Exit Corn. and Modiuua.

Caraff. How doth my gracious Lord.

Alex. Oh very sick : bring me preseruatiues,
2965 I thinke I haue as good as any man. *Alex. to his studie.*

Cæs. My Lord *Bentiuogli* take heere my keyes,
You know my study, search my Cabbinet,
There shall you finde a little Christall Phiall,
Wrapt vp in Sarcenet, bring it hether straight,

2970 I feele *Vesenus* raging in my guttes. *Exit.*

Alex. Heere *Cæsar* taste some of this precious water,
Against all plague, poison, and pestilence
A present helpe : I bought it of a Iew,
Borne and brought vp in *Galily.* *Cæsar tasteth.*

2975 *Cæs.* My Lord it is too forceable and hotte.

Alex. The flames of *Mongibell* consume my liuer,
Bring me to some repose.

Caraff. Comfort your selfe my Lord.

Alex. Cæsar take rest,
2980 Send for Physitions, all my feare remaines
That *Cæsar* shall miscarry.

Cæs. And all my grieve that both,
Noble *Bentiuogli* with-draw we both,
Vnto my Chamber, I am very sick.

Exeunt omnes.

2985

SCEN. 5.

*Enter Astaroth and calleth.**Asta. Belchar, Belchar, Belchar ;**Bel. Varca, Varca, Varca,**Var. Astaroth, Astaroth, Astaroth.*

2990

*The diuills meete and embrace.**Asto. Let Orcus Erebus and Acheron,*

And all those Ghosts which haunt the pitchy vaultes

Of cole black darkensse in *Cimerian* shades

Muster themselues in numbers numberlesse,

2995

To daunce about the Ghost of *Alexander*.*Var. Our firy region voyd of all religion,*

And diuilish order by necessity,

Compell'd requires his present policy.

Bel. That fatall wine which for his Cardinalls,

3000

He destined I tooke out of the place :

And plac'd his owne wine for those Cardinalls.

*Bar. The date of his damnation is at hand.**Asta. Be ready then for I the first will beare,*As swift as wirl-winde his black soule to *Stix*.

3005

Bel. And I with poysned toads will stop his mouth,

Whose heart was neuer satisfied with lust.

*Asta. And I with snakes and stinging *Scorpions**

Will scourge him for his pride and insolence.

Var. And I with force of fiends will hall his limmes,

3010

And pull them till he stretch an acre length.

Bel. And for his auarice I will fill his paunch,

With store of moulten gold and boyling leade.

*Asto. Then let vs for his sake a horne-pipe treade.**They dance an antick.*

CEN.

3015

SCEN. Vltima.

*Alexander vnbraced betwixt two Cardinalls in
his study looking vpon a booke, whilst a groome
draweth the Curtaine.*

Alex. You talke of pennance and of penitence,
3020 Compunction with contrition and remission
For all my sinnes ; I pray you thinke of yours
You vex your selues too much I cannot thank you,
Haue patience sirs ; oh tis a goodly *exorcisme*
Quem penitet peccasse pæne est innocens
3025 Giue leaue, giue leaue, come hither when I call
Eyther mere fooles or good phisitions all.

*They place him in a chayre vpon the stage,
a groome setteth a Table before him.*

Nay leaue me good my lords, faine would I meditate,
3030 Leaue me I pray you.

Caraf. We leaue our praiers with your Holinesse,
Call vpon God, thinke of his endlesse bounty.

Ale. Pray for your selues, troble not me with praiers,
I pray you troble not your selues with praying.

3035 *Alex. solus.* What is repentance ? haue I not forgotten ?
He looketh vpon a booke.

Why repentance is a spirituall martiredome,
Which mortifieth sinnes and heales the soule :
Hauing beene wounded with the spirits sword

3040 This sword Gods booke : that booke by me profan'd
And by which booke of God my soule is damn'd,
I damn'd vndoubtedly.

Oh wretched *Alexander*, slaue of sinne
And of damnation ; what is he that can

3045 Deliuier thy poore soule ? oh none but he
That when thou didst renounce him cast of thee,
Repentance is in vaine, mercy too late,

L 3

Oh

- Oh why should miserable mortall man,
 Whose languashing breath liues in his nostrills
 3050 Vex and torment himselfe with dayly trauell
 To scrape vp heapes of gold to gape for honors ?
 What were the conquests of great *Alexander* :
 Of *Cyrus*, *Cayus Cæsar* ? what were it
 To be possessed of this vniuerse
 3055 And leaue it all behind him in a moment ?
 Might some one man attaine that happinesse
 Which our first *Adam* had in *Parradice*,
 Before he did preuaricate ? why then
 It were a worke oflasting worthinesse
 3060 To rippe the bowells of our mother *Ops*
 For treasure ; and to conquer all the world,
 Because eternity would promise it,
 Out, out alas my paines, my guttes, my liuer
 And yet I feare it not : though in security
 3065 Once more I will with powrefull exorcismes,
 Inuoke those Angells of eternall darkenesse
 To shew me now the manner of death.

- Alexander draweth the Curtaine of his studie where hee discou-
 reth the diuill sitting in his pontificals, Alexander crosseth him-
 3070 selfe starting at the sight.*

- Diu.* What dost thou start foule child of reprobation
 Vaine are thy crosses, vaine all exorcismies,
 Those be no fruites of faith but mere hypocrifie :
Signa te signa temeré me tangis & angis
 3075 *Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.*
Rome Which once was thy gorgeous concubine
 Hath now forsaken thee : now doth she finde,
 Thy falshood which did her adulterate
 What dost thou tremble slaue of sinne and hell ?

- 3080 *Alexander taketh his booke of Magike, the
 Diuill laugheth.*

Alex.

Alex. I exorcise thee foule malignant spirit
In the names of, of, of —————

Diuil. Of what? foule mouth, poluted soule?

3085 Corrupted flesh; God hath forsaken thee,
Thy date expired is, thy powre determined.

Alex. Dissolue, dissolue, break, breake, black soule dissolue,
And poyson all this hemisphere with sinne.

Diu. Thy death and dissolution stand at dore,
3090 Resolue now to dissolue, thy soule is ours.

Alex. Proud *Lucifer* Traytor, to great *Iehouah*,
Father of lies my time is not expir'd
I will not do that violence to God,
Taking that which is his from him

3095 To be bestow'd on his great enemy.

Diu. Thou that hast throwne those graces in his face,
How canst thou think vpon saluation?

Think that th'art damn'd. I will declare it plainely.

They sit together.

3100 *Alex.* Seauen years are yet to come, I look for them.

Diu. Examine thy soule with this counterparte.

Alex. Behold it? is it not for eight years & 8. daies?

Diu. Thou foole examine in Arithmetik,
Numbers without distinction placed thus.

3105 *Annos* with the figure II. signifying eleuen years, & the figure,
Seauen applyed to *Dies* importing seauen daies.

Alex. How? how? how? how? howes that?

Deh quella malitia del Diabolo: Dch quello ueleno del inferno.

And for what stands this figure then?

3110 *Diu.* Why for eightene this figure stands for *octauo* referred
vnto *die* last before, signifying th'eight day after, so that *Annus*
vndecem without distinction signifying eleauen years; and this
figure seauen added to daies; and that *octauo post.* importing the
eight day following, *moriere*, thou shalt die. I meane thy bodie

3115 with thy soule in respect of Heauen.

Thus many daies hast thou continued Pope,
And this is thy last day design'd by fate.

Alex.

Alex. Thou canst not mock me with thy Sophistrie,
My soule is more diuine and cannot perish.

3120 *Diuil.* Thy soule foule beast is like a Menstruous cloath,
Poluted with vnardonable sinnes.

Alex. Know then malignant Angell of confusion,
My soule is a diuine light first created
In liknesse liuely formed to the word,
3125 Which word was God, that God the cause of causes,
My soule is substance of the liuing God,
Stampt with the seale of heauen, whose Carracter
Is his eternall word, at which hell trembles.

Diuil. And what of that? thou therein hast no part,
3130 I do confesse thy soule was first ordayn'd
To good : but by free-will to sinne thou slaue,
Hast sold that soule from happinesse to hell.

Alex. Marke yet what I can answer for this soule.
Mightie *Iehouah* most exuperant,
3135 Two creatures made in feature like himselfe,
The world and man : world reasonable and immortall,
Man reasonable, but dissoluble and mortall,
And therefore man was called *Microcosmus*,
The little world, and second tipe of God,
3140 Conteyning those high faculties and functions,
And elements which are within the world.
Man then that doth participate with all,
Through operation, conuersation, and simbolisation,
With matter in the subiect properly,
3145 With th'elements in body quadrifarie,
With growing plants in vertue vegetatiue
In sence with beasts ; with heauens by th'influence
Of the superiour spirits into th'inferiour
In wisdom and capacitie with Angels,
3150 With *Eloym* in that great continent,
Is without doubt preserued by that God,
Finding all things contained in himselfe.

Diuil. Answer me vaine Philosopher to this,

Thou

- Thou that hast planted man in this perfection,
 3155 Not looking on thy detestable soule,
 Which first like a pure leafe of whitest Lilly,
 Cleere from all blemish was bestow'd by God,
 And thou foule beast didst shamefully polute it.
 Is it not one of humaine faculties,
 3160 To propose for your selues the best you can,
 Where other creatures carryed with blinde force,
 Make them-selues bond-slaues to the present time.
 The scope of mans creation was to glorifie
 The most all potent maker of all things,
 3165 The *Alpha* and *Omega* of all bountie.
 But he that wilfully betrayes this soule,
 That pretious Iewell wherein God delights,
 Dishonors God and doth depriue himselfe,
 Of all saluation and beatitude.
 3170 *Alex.* Rest with this answer, that my soule is Gods
 Whose habitacle is prepar'd in heauen.
 First it doth know God being figured
 According to that Image of himselfe,
 And then the world whose liuely shape it beares,
 3175 And to conclude, the soule of man knowes all,
 Because with all things it doth simbolize,
 For in this Man there is a minde intelligent,
 A quickning word and a celestiall spirit,
 That like a lightning euery way diffused,
 3180 All things which are made by the mighty power,
 Vniteth, moueth, and replenisheth.

- Diu.* These things should haue beene thought vpon before.
 The *summum bonum* which liues in the soule,
 Is an eternall pleasure to behold,
 3185 And haue fruition of the mightie power,
 Which thou didst neuer see, nor canst enioy.

Alex. Pawse yet a little, let me meditate.

*Alexander holdeth vp his hands wringing
 and softly crying.*

M

Mercy

3190 Mercy, mercy, mercy; arise arise : vp, vp, vp : fy, fy : no, no? stirre
 stubburne, stonie, stiff indurate heart. not yet, vp. why, what? wilt
 thou not foule traytor? to my soule? not yet?

The Diuill laugheth.

Arise, arise, aduaunce heart clogg'd with sinne,
 3195 Oppressed with damnation : vp aduaunce yet.
 Wilt thou not stirre stiffe heart? what am I damn'd?
 Yet a little, yet a little, oh yet : not yet? alas.
 High God of heauens and earth if thou beare loue,
 Vnto the soule of finfull man shew mercy,

3200 Mercy good Lord, oh mercy, mercy, mercy.
 Oh saue my soule out of the Lyons pawes,
 My darling from the denne of blacke damnation,
 My soule, my doue, couer with siluer wings,
 Her downe and plumage make of fine tryed gould,

3205 Help, help, help, aboue. stirre, stirre, stupiditie.

Diu. He charmes in *Dauids* words with *Iudas spirit*,

Alex. It will not, no it will not, yet alas, no, no, no? is that my
 sentence to damnation?

I am vndone, vndone.

3210 *Diuill.* He shall dispaire, vassall of sinne and hell,
 Prouide thy selfe in black dispaire to dwell.

He ceazeth on his face.

Alex. I tell thee I cannot be resolu'd,

To dwell in darkenesse breake black soule dissolue,

3215 And poyson all this Hemisphere with sinne,

*Heere Alexander is in extreame torment and
 groneth whilst the diuill laugheth at him.*

Alex. And if I may not reach that happinesse,
 Since for my sonnes sake I my selfe inthral'd,

3220 Tell me shall *Cæsar* die this death with me?

Diuill. *Cæsar*; his youth and strength of blood driues out
 This fatall poyson and shall liue a while.

Alex. Oh shew me then the manner of his death,

Diu. Attend it time growes short all feare is past.

The

3225 *The Diuill bringeth from the doore Lucreciæ's Ghost, and
after her the ghost of Candie stabbed.*

Alex. What meanes that ghastly shadow which came first?

Diuil. By that which represents *Lucretia*,
Leprous and poisoned is thy death declar'd,

3230 By poyson which now struggleth with thy spirits,
And by that other which sets out to thee,
The murther of thy sonne the Duke of *Candy*,
Prefigur'd is the death of thy sonne *Cæsar*,
Thou for the poysoning of thy daughter poysoned t

3235 He for the murthering of his brother murthered.

Alex. Thus God is onely iust.

Diu. The Diuill cannot deny it.

Alex. Man onely false.

Learne miserable wretchcd mortall men,

3240 By this example of a sinfull soule,
What are the fruites of pride and Auarice,
Of cruell Empire and impietie,
Of prophanation and Apostacie,
Of brutish lust, falsehood, and perfidie,

3245 Of deepe dissembling and hypocrisie,
Learne wicked worldlings, learne, learne, learne by me
To saue your soules, though I condemned be.

Sound a Horne within, enter a Diuill like a Poast.

1. *Diu.* Here comes a fatall message, I must hence. *Exit.*

3250 *Alex.* My roabes, my roabes, he robs me of my roabes,
Bring me my roabes, or take away my life,
My roabes, my life, my soule and all is gone.

Alexander falleth in an extasie vpon the ground.

2. *Diuil.* From the pale horror of eternall fire,

3255 Am I sent with the wagon of blacke *Dis*,
To guide thy spirit to the gates of death,
Therefore I summon thee to come with speed,
For horrizons now stand thee not instead.

Alexander aduanceth a little.

3260 *Alex.* Horror and horror, feare ensueth feare,

Torment with tormentes is Incompassed :

Dispaire vpon dispaire, damnation

Vpon damnation, hell and consience,

Murther, lust, auarice, impiety,

3265 Vaine prophanation and apostacie,

Rage and distraction tiranize : away,

Away proud *Lucifer*, away.

Diuill. away, away.

*The Diuill windeh his horne in his eare
and there more diuills enter with a noise
incompassing him, Alexander starteth.*

3270

Alex. Holla, holla, holla, come, come, come, what, when, where
when, why, deaf, strike, dead, alieue, oh alas, oh alas, alwaies bur-
ning, alwayes freezing, alwayes liuing, tormented, neuer ending,
neuer, neuer, neuer mending, out, out, out, out, why, why, whe-

3275 ther, whether, thether,

Diuills. Thether, thether, thether.

*Thunder and lightning with fearefull noise the
diuells thrust him downe and goe Triumphing.*

Enter Cardinalls and Bentiuoli.

3280 *Bent.* What is he dead ?

Car. Dead, and in such a fashion,

As much affrights my spirits to remember,

Thunder and fearfull lightning at his death,

Out cries of horror and extremity.

3285 *Bent.* Cause all your bells to ring my lords of *Rome*,

Rome is redeemed from a wicked Pope.

Car. God hath beheld vs with his eyes of mercy,

His name be glorified, ioyne all in prayer,

And giue him praise that tooke away your shame.

3290 *Bent.* Goe your procession, sing your letinies,

And let your Churches through with multitudes,

Banquets and bonfiers through the Citty make.

In signe our Church is freed from infamy;

Car. Euen as his spirit was inflate with pride,

Behold

- 3295 Behold his bodie puffed vp with poyson,
 His corps shall be conuaied to saint *Peeters*,
 Open for all beholders, that they may
 See the reward of sinne, amend and pray.

Guicchiardine.

- 3300 Th'omnipotent great guider of all powers,
 (Whose essence is pure grace, and heauenly loue,
 As he with glorie crownes heroyick actions,
 Bearing a taste of his eternall vertue)
 So semblably doth he with terror strike,
 3305 In heauie vengeance sinnes detestable :
 As in this tragike myrrour to your eyes,
 Our sceane did represent in *Alexander*,
Flagitious Cæsar his ambitious sonne,
 Reseru'd for more calamities to come,
 3310 After he was imprisoned by the Church,
 Escap't into the kingdome of *Nauarre*,
 Vnto King *Iohn* then brother to his wife :
 Where in an ambush at *Viano* slaine,
 Iust *Nemesis* repaide his treacherie.

Epilogus.

H *Eroicke and beneuolent spectators,*
Your gracious eares, and curious obseruations,
Iuditious censures, and sweete clemencie,
Haue thus addrest our Tragick Theater,
 3320 *T'exchange contentment, for benignitie :*
Humbly deuoted to your good desires.
For some delight, cause of discourse for others,
For all example, and for none offence,
Your fauours are a royall recompence.
 3325 *Which when our loftie Muses shall perceiue,*
Then in more pompous and triumphant state,
Your eyes with glory shall the deeds receaue
Of mightie Monarches, Kings, and change of fate,
By me those persons which our Scene presented,
 3330 *Kisse all your hands, and wish you well contented.*

FINIS.

TEXTUAL NOTES.

For the copies referred to see the Introduction under "Text a." These notes only deal with the variations between the copies: for other points connected with the text, emendations and the like, see the explanatory notes which follow.

In order to bring out more clearly the relationship between the four copies, which is referred to in the Introduction, the signature of each page is given before the number of the line.

It frequently happens that stops and letters which are clear in one copy are illegible or even fail entirely to print in another, leaving a blank space. Such differences are only recorded when the stop or letter either does not print at all in one or more of the copies, or appears merely as an illegible mark or smudge in the one which I am following. Catch-words and running-titles cut off in **B**, **C**, and **D** have not been noticed.

As stated in the Introduction the text is taken from copy **A** for all sheets except **B** and **L**: for these copy **B** has been followed.

Br. 222 suspect vs.] **B**: suspect. **A**, **C**, **D**.

242 *Anaritia*] **B**: *Auritia* **A**, **C**, **D**.

244 blasphemous] **B**, **C**, **D**: blasphemous **A**.

Brv. 266 inseueth] **B**, **C**, **D**: in seuth **A**.

268 *Lucrece* is] **B**, **C**, **D**: *Lucrecis* in **A**.

282 th' quick] **B**, **C**, **D**: t' hquick **A**.

B2. 289 villainies] **B**, **C**, **D**: villaines **A**.

291 haue] **B**, **C**, **D**: ha ue **A**.

292 cause.] *The stop is faint in C. D: absent in B: clear but harsh A.*

294 fate. Read] **B**, **C**, **D**: fate, read **A**.

303 skorne] **B**, **C**, **D**: scae **A**.

304 long] **B**, **C**, **D**: lond **A**.

305 commers] **B**, **C**, **D**: commors **A**.

311 to beastly *Bardes*, and] **B**, **C**, **D**: to baudes and **A**.

314 and] **B**, **C**, **D**: ad **A**.

319 hemisphere] **B**, **C**, **D**: hemisphero **A**.

321 light] **B**, **C**, **D**: lights **A**.

322 truth: this] **B**, **C**, **D**: truths this **A**.

B2v. 331 *Alexander*] **B**, **C**, **D**: *Alexander* **A**.

343 paralel] **B**: parralel **A**, **C**, **D**.

348 *Acharon*] **B**: *Acheron* **A**, **C**, **D**. *This correction must have been made in error, for the other variations on the page show that B represents the corrected state of the forme. Acheron occurs in l. 2991.*

351 *Sedebis*] **B**, **C**, **D**: *Sedehis* **A**.

- 352 *moriere*] **B** : *morieris* **A, C, D**. Cf. l. 3114.
- B3. 373 *Peadmont*] **B** : *Peidmont* **A, C, D**.
 375 *Porto*] **B** : *Porta* **A, C, D**.
 379 *Pontremoli*] **B** : *Pontremolie* **A, C, D**.
 382 *sweete*] **B, C, D** : *sheere* **A**.
 384 *Petrasilia*] **B** : *Petrasalia* **A, C, D**.
 385 *horne*] **B** : of home **A, C, D**.
 390 *would*] **B, C, D** : *woule* **A**.
- B3^v. 411 *penetentiarie*] **B, C, D** : *penetentiaries* **A**.
 413 *spic'd with honesty*] **B, C, D** : *spic'd honesty* **A**.
 434 *Mutter*] **B, C, D** : *Matter* **A**.
 437 *So... pittifull*] *As last line on B3^v B* : *as first line on B4 A, C, D*. *At foot of B3^v in A, C, D is the catch-word So*
- B4. 440 *mourne*] **B** : *mourne* **A, C, D**. *The reason for this change is not at all clear.*
 453-4 *Liutely... Maiestie :*] **B** : *These lines are omitted in A, C, D. This insertion of two lines in B, with the consequent lengthening of the two pages and omission of catch-words, is, with the change in l. 440, the only difference between B and C, D in the inner form of this sheet.*
 476 *attempred*] **B, C, D** : *attempted* **A**. *After this line A, C, D have the catch-word Brother*
- B4^v. 494 *them be*] **B, C, D** : *be them* **A**.
- C1. 537 *Cæsar in*] *Cæs r in B*.
- C2. 610 *windes,*] *There is hardly a trace of the comma in A, but it is fairly clear in B, C, D.*
- C2^v. 650-64.] *Part or all of the first letter of each of these lines cut off in B.*
- C3^v. 711 *frime*] *The r rather resembles a broken i in D, but there is an indication of the cross stroke in B, and more faintly in A, C.*
- D1. 817 *Fois,*] *The stop is clear in C alone.*
- D1^v. 860 *trumpet s*] *The space between t and s varies, being least in B, greatest in D. Only part of the s prints in A, C, D.*
 861 *drums*] **A, C, D** : *drumes* **B**.
 867 *within*] **A, C, D** : *with in* **B**.
 880 *drum*] **A, C, D** : *drume* **B**.
 882 *walls,*] **A, C, D** : *walls.* (?) **B**.
 886 *Char.*] *Level with I above in B.*
- D2. 894 *vpon*] **A, C, D** : *vyon* **B**.
 895 *Cardinalls*] **A, C, D** : *Cardsnalls* **B**.
 913 *Peters*] **A, C, D** : *Peeters* **B**.
 916 *tedious*] **A, C, D** : *tedions* **B**.
 925 *Venice*] *The n does not print in A, C, D : faint in B.*
 926 *your*] **A, C, D** : *you* **B**.
- D2^v. 955 *it,*] *The comma does not print at all in B : legible in A, C, D.*
- D3. 966 *France*] *rance does not print in B.*
 986 *Charles*] *r does not print in B : faint in A, C, D.*
- D3^v. 1001 *companie*] **A, C, D** : *compānis* **B**.

- 1010 validity] *The second i does not print in A : very faint B, D : legible C.*
 1023 Peters] **A, C, D : Peeters B.**
 1025 prophaine] **A, C, D : prophame B.**
 1027 Peters] **A, C, D : Peeters B.**
 1037 catch-word Lodo.] *The stop is absent in D : clear in A, C : the word is cut off in B.*
- D₄. 1054 Peters] **A, C, D : Peeters B.**
 1062 Peter] **A, C, D : Peeter B.**
 1063 Forbeare] **A, C, D : For beare B.**
 1067 Peters] **A, C, D : Peeters B.**
- E₁^v. 1164 Tarpeyan] **A : Tarpayan B, C, D.**
 1170 soule-slaying] **A : soule-slaiding B, C, D.**
 1185.] *The first six letters of the line are torn off in B.*
- E₂. 1211 Panchaia] **A : Paruhaian B, C, D.**
There is a hole in A destroying sen and se cri in the line below : sences is added in old MS.
 1212 [cri]mosin pillou] **A : crimosinpillon B, C, D.**
- E₂^v. 1226 Fickle.] *Hardly a trace of the comma in C : faint in A, B, D.*
 1250-1.] *There is a hole in A destroying pice and and icnard.*
- E₃^v. 1301 Will thou] **A : Willt hou B, C, D.**
 1307 Sarazines] **A : Sarazines B, C, D.**
 1309 Briggandine] **A : Briggandie B, C, D.**
 1312 vnhorse three] **A : vnhorse there three B, C, D.**
 1319 Surgion, all fix, trillill.] **A : Surgion all fix trillill, B, C, D.**
 1322 niming] **A : immuge B, C, D.**
 1330 pushing] **A : pashing? B, C, D.**
 1331 writte] **A : write B, C, D.**
- E₄. 1337 Ciuidauerchia] **A : Ciuidauercha B, C, D.**
 1338 lorenzo] **A : lorenza B, C, D.**
 conduit] **A : conduct B, C, D.**
 1339 la dōna] **A : ladona B, C, D.**
 1345 oportunitie] **A : opertuntie B, C, D.**
 1347 parties] **A : preties B, C, D.**
 1367 multo] **A : malto B, C, D.**
- F₁^v. 1485 finest] **A, C, D : Looks like sinest in B.**
- F₂^v. 1555 malte-men] **A, C : malt-emen B, D.**
- F₃. 1574 hir] **A, C : his B, D.**
 1577 stigmatist] **A, C : Plegmatist, B, D.**
- F₄^v. 1701 rewarde of sinne.] **A, C : rewarde. B, D.**
- G₁. 1715 escention] **A, D : descention B : decention C.**
 1719 he boweth his bodie] **A, B, D : he boueth his bidie C.**
 1720 Armatas] **A, B, D : Armatus C.**
 she, is] **A, B, D : she is C.**
 1723 Salam] **A, D : Salem B, C.**
 1724 angels of this] **A, D : angells this B, C.**
 1727 mountes] **A, B, D : mountas C.**
 his] **A, B, D : hie C.**

- 1739** *yayne*] **A, D** : *yawne* **B, C**.
1740 *Huratipel*.] **A, D** : *Huratipel* **B, C**.
1747 robes] **A, B, D** : robs **C**.
G₁^v. **1785** *catch-word Dinel*.] **A, B, D** : *Dinel* **C**.
G₂^v. **1825** Wounds of] **A, D** : Wounds both of **B, C**.
body : but] **A, B, D** : body but **C**.
1830 thou] **A, D** : thee **B, C**.
1833 them in *Lodwick*] **A, D** : them *Lodowick* **B, C**.
1854 murdered : in] **A, B, D** : murdered in **C**.
passion] **A, B, D** : passion : **C**.
1858 complices] **A, D** : complecies **C**.
1859 him :] **A, B, D** : him **C**.
G₃. **1871** Some-what] **A, B, D** : Somewhat **C**.
1898 familiers] **A, D** : falce liers **B, C**.
G₄^v. **1977** *Vrbine*] **A, B, D** : *Vrbine*, **C**.
1979 Haue] **A, B, D** : Hane **C**.
1982 *Bentiuoli*] **A, D** : *Bentiuoly* **B, C**.
1987 *Bentiuoli*] **A, D** : *Bentiuoly* **B, C**.
2005 *Phyal*] **A, D** : *Vyol* **B, C**.
H₁^v. **2077**.] *The semicolon is faint in A, B, D, and appears in C as a comma.*
I₁. **2339** *Boy*.] *The stop is faint in A, and does not print in B, C, D.*
I₁^v. **2371** perform'd] **A, B, D** : perform d **C**.
I₂. **2394** sau'd] *The (') is faint in C : illegible in A, B, D.*
2411 charge.] *Comma very faint in C, D : trace only A : absent B.*
I₂^v. **2443** fyer'd] **A, C** : syer'd **B, D**. *This a curious variation, for it seems clear that syer'd (i. e. sear'd) is meant. On the other outer pages of the sheet, however, the readings of A are manifestly the correct ones, cf. l. 2592, also l. 2454 on this page. It may be noted that the spelling indicates rather correction of fyer'd to syer'd than vice versa. The bar of the f seems too distinct for it to be merely a piece of dirt.*
2454 within there if] **A, C** : within if **B, D**.
I₄. **2543** sure :] *The semicolon is faint in A, C, D, and appears in B as a comma.*
I₄^v. **2592** man, no more do I, but] **A, C** : man no more, do I but **B, D**.
K₁. **2615** trumpets] **A, B, D** : triumphets **C**.
2623 in scarfs] **A, B, D** : inscarfs **C**.
2626 alacrity.] **A, B, D** : alacrity; **C**.
2636 place] **A, B, D** : pluce **C**.
K₂. **2702** poyson d] *There is perhaps a trace of a (') in C : none in A, B, D.*
2707 Bag.] *The stop is faint in A : hardly a trace C : no trace B, D.*
K₂^v. **2718** others] **A, B, D** : other **C**.
2724 *Henrilico*] **A, B, D** : *Henril co* **C**.
2731 a man] **A, B, D** : aman **C**.
K₃. **2770** broake ;] **A, B, D** : broake **C**.
2776 swell, rage] **A, B, D** : swell rag'd **C**.
2777 part, set] **A, B, D** : part set **C**.
2778 *Valentinoys*] **A, B, D** : *Valentiooys* **C**.

- 2781** *Pincoginger*, by] **A, B, D** : *Pincoginger* by **C**.
- K^{3v} **2802** *Rot.*] *The stop is clear in C : faint in A, B : does not print in D.*
- K^{4v}. **2856** ther :] **A, B, D** : the : **C**.
veleno dell] **A, B, D** : *velenodell* **C**.
- 2858** death oh] **A, B, D** : deat : hoh **C**.
- 2861** draweth] **A, B, D** : draueth **C**.
- 2876** turne] **A, B, D** : tourne **C**.
- 2881** steps] **A, B, D** : slepe **C**.
- L¹. **2897.**] *The broad space is above this line in B, C, D : below it in A. This is the only point in which C and D show in this sheet a more corrected state than A.*
- 2907** from] **B** : fuom **A, C, D**.
- 2909** in the reuolution] **B** : in reuolution **A, C, D**.
- 2913** barons] **B** : barrons **A, C, D**.
- L^{2v}. **2993** darkensse] **B** : hags **A, C, D**.
- 2997** diuilish] *In B iu is lost owing to a hole in the paper.*
- 3010** acre] **B** : achor **A, C, D**.
- M¹. **3175** conclude,] *The comma is very faint in A, B.*
- M². **3234** poisoned t] *In A, C and perhaps in D, but not in B, there is a faint mark after poisoned and below the line, which may possibly be a dropped comma or period.*
- 3238** Alex.] *The stop does not print in A : trace in B, C : clear in D.*

NOTES.

The following abbreviations are used :

G. = Guicciardini, *La Historia d'Italia*, edition of Venice, 1574.

Cho. = The French translation of the above by Jérôme Chomedey, edition of Paris, 1568.

Fen. = The English translation by Geoffrey Fenton, published under the title of *The Historie of Guicciardin*, edition of London, 1599.

Hept. = The Heptameron of Petrus de Abano, edition annexed to the works of H. C. Agrippa, c. 1567.

B. = Barnes.

Title-page] The device was earlier used by Gabriel Simpson. It had then the letters G. S. in the lower corners.

Dedication] Grosart in the account which he gives of this play in his edition of Barnes' *Poems* (part. ii, p. xxix) has a long note on the two knights to whom it was dedicated. From this and from Nichols' *Progresses of K. James I* take the following. Sir William Herbert was the eldest son of Sir Edward Herbert, knight, and grandson of William first Earl of Pembroke. He was made a knight of the Bath in July 1603, and created Baron Powis in 1629. He died in 1655 at the age of 83. Sir William Pope was the only son of John Pope, esq., of Wroxton. He was made a knight of the Bath on the same occasion as Herbert, was created a baronet in 1611 and an Irish peer by the titles of Baron Belturbet and Earl of Downe in 1628. He died in 1631.

27 siluer rod] Generally a hazel stick was used in magical incantations. Cf. Scot's *Discouerie*, ed. 1886, pp. 316, 471, and 473 (the last two being in the additions of 1665).

30-2] The bribery by which Borgia obtained the tiara is mentioned by *G.* (*Fen.* p. 3).

35 a Moncke] I find no record of the person from whom Alexander learnt his magic. Possibly the monk stands for Roger Bacon as a typical magician.

35-57] Compare the extract from Widman's Faust-book in the Appendix to the Introduction.

37-8 and before it an other Circle] Barnes here and in l. 1756 follows Widman in making the devil appear within a circle. As a general

rule two concentric circles were described at a distance apart of a few inches, between them being written the names of God and certain other magical words and signs. The magician took his stand within the inner circle and the devils appeared outside.

- 46** *pronotary*] This variant of « protonotary » occurs, with the same accentuation as in l. 62 here, in Daniel's *Queenes Arcadia*, III. i, « And I knew you a Pronotories boy ».
- 52-3** *the remainder... suppe vp*] Nothing about this in Widman.
- 66** &c.] The scene is to some extent based on *G.*'s account of the meeting of L. Sforza with Charles VIII of France at Asti in 1494 (*Fen.* p. 35). Lodowik's first speech occasionally recalls the discourse of his ambassador sent in the previous year to urge Charles to undertake the expedition.
- 68** Gilbert Mompanseir] See note to l. 147.
- 69** Saint Peter ad Vincula] Given by *G.* as « S. Piero in Vincola », by *Fen.* as « S. P. ad vincula ».
- 70** Charles Balbiano] The form of the name is apparently from *Fen.*, who has « Charles Balbyan ». *G.* has « Carlo da Barbiano » (as also in modern editions). He was the ambassador mentioned in the note on l. 66.
- 77** oftruth] *r.* of truth. The *tr* is much damaged in all copies.
- 95** bilg'd] *i.e.* caused to leak.
- 100** tied] *i.e.* obliged, caused to feel bound.
- forlone] *r.* forlorne.
- 101**] *r.* compassionate,
- 119**] *r.* pollicy,
- 128** inducted] *i.e.* led you on.
- 134**] *r.* parte of.
- 136** purchase] *i.e.* gain, advantage.
- 138-142**] « the *Colonnys* (notwithstanding *Alphonse* had accorded [*G.* accettate] to all their moderate [*G.* immoderate] demands) as soone as *Monsieur D'aubygny* was entred *Romania*, declared them selues for the french king without more dissembling [*G.* deposta la simulatione] » *Fen.* p. 36. Note the use of « accord » and « dissembling » by *B.*
- 138** *Daubigny*] *G.* has « Obigni », *Fen.* « D'aubygny » or « d'aubigne ».
- 147-8**] « *Gilbert de Montpensier* of the house of *Dourdon*, and Prince of the bloud » is mentioned as leader of the vanguard in the march to « *Pontreme* » [*G.* Pontriemoli]. *Fen.* p. 39.
- 150-2**] Charles entered the « country of *Lungium*, a part of which obeyed the *Florentins* » and « about these quarters layed with *Monsieur Montpensier*, the *Savoyers*, which had ben at the defence of *Genoway*, together with the artillerie which was come by sea to

Spetia ». *Fen.* p. 39.

156] read Charles.

158 *Libels*] i.e. bills, written papers. The modern sense of « defamatory writings » was in use at the date but not exclusively. This may be the meaning here, though in a stage-direction it seems somewhat absurd, insomuch as the character of the writings could not be apparent to the spectators.

162 vinolence] i.e. wine bibbing.

170 adulation] The word seems to be used for « caressing » as « adulatio » in Pliny, *H.N.* x. 52, where, speaking of the male dove's manner of wooing, he says « mox in satisfactione exosculatio, et circa Veneris preces crebris pedum orbibus adulatio ». The ordinary sense of « flattery » would hardly be appropriate here, unless, indeed, flattery paid to the Pope is meant.

173 figures] i.e. signs.

174 *catch-word*] The stop after « Gent » may perhaps be a black-letter period.

190-207] The curious metrical structure of this passage does not appear to correspond to any recognized form.

208 luculent] i.e. bright.

218] *r.* farst with, i.e. stuffed with.

226 *Barbarossa*] A « *Barbarossa Bassa*, and Captaine generall to *Solyman* of all his Navies and armies by sea » is mentioned on the last leaf of *G.* (*Fen.* p. 943) and may have suggested the name. The character is the invention of Barnes.

230 brother] as being brother of Lucretia, Gismond's wife. The use is common.

241 *A.S.P.M.*] I find no authority for this Pasquinade.

247 *Phy*] i.e., I suppose, Fie !

253-4] These lines appear to be the invention of Barnes.

253 *Galero*] i.e. the cardinal's hat, cf. Du Cange, *s.v.*

264-5] These lines are, I presume, an adaptation by Barnes of the epitaph given by Widman, as also by Hieronymus Marius, Bale, and others. This latter, attributed to Pontanus, appears in English in T. Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrammes*, L2, and in J. Taylor's *Bawd*, A5.

273 *Francesco di Gonsaga*] He was Marquis of Mantua and is described by *G.* as « a man albeit very young, yet what for his great courage and naturall desire of glory, his expectation surmounted his age » (*Fen.* p. 77), but there is no suggestion of his having been Lucretia's husband.

To prevent confusion it seems well to give the following few facts about Lucretia : She was first betrothed in 1491 to Don

Cherubino Juan de Centelles, lord of Val d'Ayora in Valencia, and in the same year married Don Gasparo, son of Don Juan Francesco of Procida, Count of Aversa, from whom she was shortly afterwards divorced. In 1493 she married Giovanni Sforza, from whom she was also divorced. In 1498 she became the wife of Alfonso, natural son of Alfonso II of Naples, and Duke of Biselli, whose life was attempted in 1500 on the steps of St. Peter's by the agency of Caesar Borgia. A month later, while recovering from his wounds, he was assassinated. Lastly, in 1500, Lucretia married Alfonso d'Este.

A passage from *G.* may fitly be given here : « The brute was (if such an enormitie be worthy to be beleueed) that in the loue of *Mad. Lucrecia* were concurrant, not only the two brethren, but also the father, who when he was chosen Pope, taking her from her husband being inferiour to her degree, he married her to *John Sforce*, Lord of *Pesere* : and afterwards, not able to suffer her husband to be his corruall, he made dissolution of the marriage alreadie cōsummated, hauing made prooffe, before Iudges & delegats of his owne creation, by witnesses suborned, & afterwards cōfirmed by apostolicall sentence, that her husband was imperfect in the operation of nature, and vnable to cohabitation » (*Fen.* p. 138). Cf. also the note on l. 543.

I do not find that *G.* anywhere gives the name of Lucretia's first husband.

275 bains] *i.e.* banns, but the expression suggests confusion with bands (*i.e.* bonds).

294 toot] more usually « tut ».

295 *Gismond Viselli*] See note on l. 543.

299] *r.* *Sempronia*,

302 is] *read*, possibly « his » or « this ».

bodell] a variant of « bordell », *i.e.* brothel.

318] *r.* grace

320-1] *r.* breath,... liue.

321 Obumbrating] *i.e.* obscuring.

323 diety] a variant of « deity ».

329 *Astaroth*] No name is given to the devil by Widman, nor is Astaroth mentioned in the *Heptameron* of Petrus de Abano. He was however well known and is described in Scot's *Discouerie*, 1584, p. 384 (ed. of 1886, p. 319).

339 *Arcane*] *i.e.* hidden.

342 my sonnes] *G.* says that Alexander « had his mind ouerly possessed with an vnbridled couetousnesse to paye and make might his sonnes, in whom hauing settled a blind fancie, he was not

ashamed, contrarie to the custome of former Popes (who to cast some cloke ouer their infamy were wont to call them their Nephewes) to call them his children, and expressed them to the world for such » (*Fen.* p. 8). His affection for his sons is again noticed, in connection with Caesar's death, at p. 138.

351-4] These lines seem to be the composition of Barnes. In no other form of the story with which I am acquainted is the agreement given in Latin.

352] This version of the agreement differs from those given by Hondorff and Widman. Hondorff makes the term 11 years and 8 months, the pope understanding it to be 18 years : Widman, while agreeing with Hondorff in the time stated, more reasonably makes Alexander expect 19 years. Barnes, like Hondorff, makes the pope's interpretation 18 years, but differs from him in making up this number of 11 years and 7 days, instead of 11 years and 8 months. The form given by Barnes makes the devil's reading of the charter seem much more irrational than it does in the other cases. Cf. ll. 3100-15.

359 thought] *r.* though.

361 *tincketh*] *i.e.* tinkleth, ringeth. Also in ll. 1285, 1728, 1819.

370-85] I do not find in *G.* anything which could have suggested this passage, nor are some of the places mentioned to be identified. The geography is far from clear, for if Genes be, as I suppose, Genoa, it is certainly not « vpon the *Mediterranean* towards *Greece* ». If *Porto di Volane* be on the west coast, it seems not unlikely that we should place a stop before « on » in l. 376 and suppose a line dropped between this line and the next. The form Genes for Genoa occurs frequently in *Fen.* see pp. 27-9; he also has *Genoway*, cf. note on ll. 150-2.

375 *Porto di Volane*] I cannot identify this. The nearest seems to be Porto Venere close to Spezia, which is several times mentioned by *G.* There is however a place called Volano on the east coast between Venice and Ravenna.

381 *Narve*] I can find no river of this name.

382 fruitfuil] *r.* fruitfull.

383 Mont *Alto*] There are several places so named.

Policastro] On the coast about 150 km. southeast of Naples.

384 *Petrasilia*] I can discover no place of the name, but the correction of it from *Petrasalia* (cf. text. notes) seems to show that the author meant it to stand thus.

391 Vnlesses] *r.* Vnlesse.

392 little-turfe] *r.* little turfe, but the hyphen would perhaps hardly have been considered a misprint.

393] See Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 37.

393-4] *r.* contend ;... cleeres,

395 a parte] *r.* aparte, again hardly a misprint.

406-7] to Candy.

411] *r.*, probably, vnпитыd. The meaning of the line is not quite clear. The word « penitentiare » seems at this date to have generally been equivalent to « confessor », not to « penitent », but this interpretation, though supported by the correction from « penitentiaries » (cf. text. notes), hardly accords with the rest of the line, for we require « vnпитыng » rather than « vnпитыd ». The latter word is indeed once used by Shakespeare in the sense of « merciless » or « severe » in the phrase « an unpityd whipping » (*M. for M.*, IV, ii. 13), but this is hardly a parallel case.

414 sind] *r.* find.

418-9] *i.e.*, I suppose, are not marked, or classed, as persons who, under no circumstances, may break a promise.

436 yea] *r.* yee.

450] The word « you » is, I regret to say, an error for « your », which the reader is requested to correct. The line is not very intelligible but seems to mean « only aid him on such terms as will make him afterwards dependent on you », an interpretation which, however, hardly fits in with l. 452 for, being the strongest, there is no reason why he should perish. An alternative meaning could be obtained by taking « let » as equivalent to « suppose » and « your war » as « the war in question », then we might understand « Join with the strongest against the weak, but supposing that the war is such that the crown of the stronger will be endangered by it, then remember that your nearest charity concerns yourself and only help him on favourable terms, or else stand aside altogether [it will be most to your advantage if the two destroy each other] ».

Professor Bang interprets the passage in an entirely different way : let = hinder, prevent ; foundation = extremity (cp *N. E. D.* s. v. § 5) « war's foundation » meaning « war to the extremity » ; « his crowne » being the crown of the weak (not, as I took it, of the strong). The line would then mean : « Do not permit matters to be pushed to extremes. » We should read (;) or (.) after crowne and the next line would be equivalent to « Have some charity for the weak but more for yourself ; if you cannot arrange matters for your own advantage, then let him (the weak) perish.

This gives good sense but I feel a certain difficulty in accepting the meaning given to « let ». The word of course is very common in the sense of to hinder but writers seem to have been fully

- conscious of the danger of confusion and *generally* to have avoided this use in cases where there might be ambiguity. Further, this « let » was seldom, if ever, used with the infinitive without « to ».
- 453-4**] Cf. text. notes.
- 453** dissemble] *i.e.* simulate, feign.
- 461** puling] *i.e.*, I suppose, in a weak or foolish way, but the usual sense is whining.
- 462** on the Common] *i.e.* turned out on the common land, as a horse too old for work, hence, in very miserable circumstances. Cf. *Jul. Caes.* IV. 1. 27.
- 466** vicining] *i.e.* bordering upon.
- 469** particularers] *i.e.* persons; or perhaps private persons may be meant.
- 472** make remonstrance of] *i.e.* display.
- 476** callidity] *i.e.* craft, cunning.
- 480-1** but... confusion.] an aside.
- 482** Barnardo] The Pope's servant, not in *G.*
- 488-9**] « together with this, was knit vp the mariage of the Ladie Sances bastard daughter to *Alphonso* [son of Ferdinand, king of Naples], with *Dom Geffray* [*G. Giuffrè*] youngest sonne to the Pope » (*Fen.* p. 18).
- 493**] *r.* courteous language, laudable
apporte] *i.e.* bearing, behaviour.
- 497** tractable] *i.e.* compliant.
- 503-4**] *i.e.* Caesar shall in his turn show corresponding courtesy.
- 505** sitteth] *i.e.* suits, befits.
- 530** glancing] *i.e.* giving amorous glances.
fantasies.] *r.* fantasies,
- 535** expence,,] *r.* expence,
- 537** prooe] *r.* prooue or proue.
- 542** blisse] a variant of « blesse ».
- 543** &c.] There is no suggestion in *G.* that Lucretia had any hand in the murder of her husband. His only mention of the matter seems to be where he narrates that Alexander « married his daughter *Lucrecia* (wife afore to three husbands, and now widow by the death of *Gismon* Prince of *Viselle* [*Gismondo Principe di Biselli* *G* : his name is generally given as *Alfonso*], bastard sonne to *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, whom the Duke *Valentinois* had slaine) to *Alphonso* eldest sonne to *Hercules D'este* » (*Fen.* p. 201).
- 547** untired] *i.e.* with her hair hanging loose.
- 592** exclude] *r.* exclude.
- 593** creuisies] For the spelling cf. complices in l. 1858.
- 594** mc] *r.* me.

- 598] *r.* rocks,
 619 meere] *i.e.* pure.
 634 *Layis*] *r.* *Lais*, but hardly a misprint.
 642 Broken within the ring] This recalls « clipped, or enclaved, within the ring », a phrase properly applied to a coin which was damaged within the boundary of the inscription, and hence not current. As used of women it meant both « having lost virginity » and « dishonest ». Cf. Lyly, *Woman in the Moon*, III. ii. 266, and *Hamlet*, II. ii. 448.
 650 recieue] *r.* recieue.
 667 *Sphorza*] her former husband. Cf. l. 283. Beyond marrying his divorced wife, Gismond seems to have done him no particular wrong.
 671 this &] Possibly there is a trace of a comma between these words.
 674 *of his*] *r.* *of his*.
 690 *Lucrce*] *r.* *Lucrece*.
 713 Moticilla] Neither the name nor the character appear in *G*.
 728 murthred] *r.*, probably, murdered.
 753 piacular oblation] *i.e.* offering in atonement.
 758 *veleuo*] *r.* *veleno*, *i.e.* poison.
 765 you] *r.* your.
 770 delay's] *r.* delays.
 792-4] These particulars of Charles' army are from *G. (Fen.* p. 35).
 797 hard] *i.e.*, I presume, heard ; not « hard vnto » *i.e.* near.
 802 Caraffa] « *Oliuer Caraffe* [*G. Caraffa*] a *Neapolitan* » is mentioned as one of the two cardinals who were with the Pope in the castle of S. Angelo. *Fen.* p. 49 (misprinted 53).
 Bernado Piccolomini] It is questionable whether this is to be read as two names or as one. If as two, which seems the more probable, Bernado must be the Pope's servant (cf. l. 482), but it is a little strange that his name should come before that of Piccolomini. I find no mention of any Castilian (*i.e.* keeper of the Castle of Saint Angelo) in *G*. The name Piccolomini of course occurs frequently ; *G.* generally spells Piccolhuomini, *Fen.* Piccolhomini, but both have occasionally the spelling here used by *B*. No person of the name is found in the passage in *G.* corresponding to this scene.
 803 Gassper de fois] I suppose that this name was suggested by that of the celebrated Gaston de Foix (1489-1512) described by *G.* as « *Guaston* lord of *Foix* the kings sisters sonne, a man very young and newly come to the armie the yeare before [*i.e.* in 1510] » (*Fen.* p. 395). He is also called *Gaston de Foix* (p. 399). *G.* has

« Gaston monsignor di Fois » and « Gastone di Fois ». He was of course too young to be present on this occasion and had nothing whatever to do with Alexander.

809 *Santa Maria di Popolo*] cf. note on ll. 835-7.

811 scurriers] *i.e.* scouts.

813 Cornets] *i.e.* the standards of a troop of cavalry. *N. E. D.*

817 *Basiliskes*] the largest sort of ordnance, carrying, according to Harrison, a ball of 69 lbs. weight and 8 1/4 inches in diameter (Description of England, in Holinshed, 1587, p. 199 a).

821 Turret] *r.* Turret. « the tower of *Adrian*, of old called the Castell of *Crescence*, and now named the Castell *S. Ange* » (*Fen.* p. 47). *G.* has « mole d'Adriano ».

822-3] several sorts of cannon. The weight of the shot was, according to Harrison, as follows : Cannon, 60 lbs ; Culverin, 18 lbs ; Sacre, 5 lbs. Lizard I do not find either there or in *N. E. D.*, but the name is evidently of the same class as culverin and basilisk. Following Harrison's list it might be, from its position after Culverin, a demi-culverin with a ball of 9 lbs. Cf. « Crocadile » in l. 1314.

835-7] « the Duke of *Calabria*.... issued out of *Rome* by the gate *S. Sebastian*, the last day of the yeare 1494. at the same houre, that at the gate *de S. Maria de Popolo* [*G. del Popolo*] entred with the armie of *Fraunce*, the French king armed, with his launce vpon his thigh as he entred *Florence* » *Fen.* p. 49 (53).

836 *Sabastian*] *r.*, perhaps, *Sebastian*.

842] *G.* writes « Castel Sant'Agnolo » and « castello sant'Angeio » ; *Fen.* « castell *S. Ange* ».

848-9] From *G.*, cf. note on ll. 835-7.

851 suberbs] *r.* suburbs.

862 *Ascanio*] *i.e.* Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, one of Roderic Borgia's rivals for the papacy.

876 maistie] *r.* maiestie, for metrical reasons.

883 confcr] *r.* confer.

893 *trumpet*] *r.* trumpet.

898 peaceably] After all I am inclined to think that the c is merely a much damaged roman letter.

916 marcht] *r.* march.

918] *r.* nature

921 imprease] *i.e.* enterprise.

926 Holines.] *r.* Holines

928-9] *r.* in ;... weight,

930 *France*] *r.*, probably, *Rome*.

936 In Caution of] *i.e.* as surety for.

974-9] aside, to Montpensier.

976-7] « the artillerie were drawne twice frô the pallace of *S. Mark* where the king was lodged, to be planted before the castell ». *Fen.* p. 49 (53).

983 exsaperate] *r.* exasperate.

990 guestning] *i.e.* entertainment.

1002 ordinance goeing of] *G.* does not record any actual fighting.

1007] *r.* Forbeare.

1007-8] *r.* God,... about :

1013-4] The terms of the agreement are all to be found in *G.* « That the Pope should giue to the king, to hold for his suretie till he had conquered the kingdome of *Naples*, the Citadels of *Caitane, Terrachine, & Spolete.* » *Fen.* p. 49 (53).

1022 of so large a last] By « last » is, I presume, meant the wooden model of the foot on which boots and shoes are made. Cf. examples in *N.E.D.* « 1644 Jessop, *Angel of Eph.* 6 These Lawyers... stretch Scripture as they please, just as the Shoe-maker doth his leather with his teeth, to fit it to his Last », and « 1647 N. Bacon *Disc. Govt. Eng.* I. liii (1739) 94 The Normans had reduced the Saxon law... unto their own Last, which stretched their desire as far as the estate would bear. » There is another « last » meaning a load, measure of capacity or weight, or a huge indefinite quantity, but the first seems rather to be the word intended here.

1025-37] « But now began the Cardinals, *ad vincula*, *Askanius, Colonne & Sauelle*, with many others, to sollicite the king with vehement instance, that taking from the sea a Pope full of vices, and abhominable to all the world, he would create & set vp another : they told him it would be no lesse vertuous in him to deliuer the Church of God frô the tyranny of a wicked Pope, then it was great glory to *Pepin & Charlemain* his predecessours, to take the Popes of holy life out of the persecutions of those that did vnjustly oppresse thê ». *Fen.* p. 49 (53). Note the use by *B.* of the expression « of holy life », but it is literally from *G.* « i Pontifici di sancta uita ».

1040] *r.*, probably, And (that which...)

1042 reconciliation] *r.* reconciliation.

1045 *Iscairot]* *r.* *Iscairot*.

1070] Cf. note on l. 862.

1074 capitulato] *r.* capitulate.

1076 velletations] *i.e.* bickering, dispute.

1083-4 « That the Pope should keepe no remembrance of any offence or iniurie of the Cardinals or any Baros subjects to the Church that had followed the kings partie ». *Fen.* p. 49 (53).

1085-91] « That he should giue to the king *Gemyn Ottomà* brother to *Baiazet*, who... fled to *Rodes*, from whence he was brought into *Fraunce*, & lastly past ouer into the power & custodie of Pope *Innocent* ». *Fen.* p. 49 (53). The Popes were paid forty thousand ducats a year by *Bajazet* to keep him in custody « to the end they should be lesse ready to deliuer him into the hands of other Princes to serue their turnes against him ». (*Fen.* p. 50).

1095 falter] *i.e.*, apparently, play fast and loose with, a sense possibly due to the word « palter ».

1114-26] Much elaborated from *G.*, who merely says : « and after, with pompes and ceremonies accustomed at the receiuing of great kings, he [*i.e.* the Pope] receiued the king in the Church of *S. Peter*, & there (according to the manner) hauing kissed his feete kneeling, was afterwarde received to kisse his cheeke » (*Fen.* p. 50).

1116] read, perhaps, *holy-water pot* or *holy-water-pot*, but the form in the text may be admissible.

1117 Astor Manfredy] see note on l. 1155. His introduction here is an anachronism ; he was not captured and sent to Rome until 1501, whereas the entry of Charles took place in 1494.

1126 *Fife*] *B.* seems to confuse this with trumpets, cf. l. 1114. The instruments were as distinct as at present

1131] *r.* After the senior Bishop-Cardinall. Cf. « where he [*i.e.* Charles] had his place the first after the first Bishop Cardinall » (*Fen.* p. 50) ; « dopo il primo Vescono Cardinale » *G.*

1146-7] « king *Charles* dyed at *Amboyse*, of a catterhe which the Phisitians call *apoplexie*, the same rising in him with such abundance as he beheld a match plaied at tennyse, that in few houres he ended at the same place his life » (*Fen.* p. 142). What follows is taken partly from the same page and partly from p. 193.

1155 Astor, Manfredi] *r.* Astor Manfredi. His story is told by *G.* in connexion with the taking of *Faenza* by Caesar after a long siege in 1501. The Faventines « yeelded to the Duke vpon couenant to haue their goods & liues saued, & that *Astor* their Lord should remaine in his libertie, and to enioy wholly the reuenue of his proper possessions. These couenants the Duke kept faithfully on the behalfe of the people of *Faenza* : But *Astor*, a young man of xviij. yeares and of an excellent beutie, his age and innocencie yeelding to the disloyaltie and crueltie of the victors, was retained by the Duke with very honorable demonstrations, vnder colour that he should remaine in his Court : but within few dayes after being sent to *Rome*, after (so went the brute) some had satisfied their vile vnnaturall lust on him, he was secretly put to death,

together with his bastard brother » (*Fen.* p. 194-5). He is elsewhere called *Astor de Manfredi* (p. 29).

Phillippo] The name of Astor's brother does not seem to be given by *G.*

1156 *Phillippo*] In all copies there is a mere trace of the comma.

1159 Withall] *r.* With all.

1189 Saint *Iohn Laterans*] I do not find this church anywhere mentioned by *G.*, but it was, no doubt, well known. It is referred to in the description of Rome in the English *Faust-book* of 1592, ed. Logeman p. 56, also in Widman (see the Introduction, p. xxi).

1209 specious] *i.e.* handsome.

1211 *Panchaian* Odors] *i.e.* Panchaeos odores, Lucretius, ii. 417.

1244] « read « vnto them that enter it » » Dyce, MS. Note.

1251 Sinamond] *i.e.* cinnamon.

r. Spicnard Arabick, *i.e.* Arabian spikenard.

1263 cud] *i.e.* chew, but, presumably, suck is meant.

1266 strenght] *r.* strength.

1272 precions] *r.* precious.

1275 Insacred] *r.* In sacred.

1280 Amber] *i.e.* ambergris, the perfume.

1289 heart] the subject of « can find » in l. 1292.

1290 beauty full] *r.*, I suppose, beautyfull or beautifull, but the expression is somewhat strange.

1294 *Frescobaldy*] Neither the name nor the character is to be found in *G.* A character called Friscabaldo occurs in Dekker's *Honest Whore*, Part II, and there is a Francesco Frescobaldi in Bandello's *Novelle*, Vol. II, 18.

1309 *Briggandine*] *i.e.* coat of mail.

1310 old-Fox] *r.* old Fox, but cf. little-turfe in l. 392. A « fox » was a large sword.

1311 depart] *i.e.* die.

1314 *Crocadile*] Evidently a kind of cannon, as « lizard » in l. 823. but I have not found the word elsewhere in this sense.

1319 all fix, trillill] This apparently means « perfectly sound ». The word « fix » is employed in a similar way in l. 2676, but no examples in *N.E.D.* seem to illustrate this use. « Trillill » generally occurs in reference to drinking, and perhaps expresses the idea of liquor running down ones throat. Cf. « come let vs to the spring of the best liquor, whilst this [money] lasts, trillill » Lodge and Greene, *Looking Glasse for London and England* (ed. of 1598, sig. G4), « Try-lill, the hūters hoope to you » Nashe, *Summers Last Will*, F1^v, and « in wodden Mazers, and *Agathocles* earthen stuffe, they trillild it [*i.e.* wine] off » *Lenten Stuffe*, F4^v. The word « trill » is

used in the same sense : « hee calde for a boule of Beere... and trilled it off » *Almond for a Parrat*, D4. Cf. also Peele, ed. Dyce, 1870, p. 452; Hazl. Dods. VII, p. 413; *Patient Grissel*, ed. Hübsch, l. 1935; and Dekker, *Works*, ed. Grosart, I. 143, IV. 184. Here, so far as it has any particular sense, it is probably equivalent to « lusty, all well » — but it may be merely an exclamation.

1320 at *Malta*] No particular siege seems to be referred to.

1321 bul-beggars] *i.e.*, properly, terrible apparitions.

1322 niming] *r.* mining; a careless correction, see text-notes.

1339 *sempronia*] standing, of course, as a typical name for a whore or bawd, cf. l. 299. The expression « wantō *Sempronians* » occurs in Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses*, ed. Furnivall, p. 70. glister] *i.e.* clyster.

1340] *r.* mee, within

1346 *Fresco*.] Only a trace of the *c* in all copies.

1349 gilder] *i.e.* snare.

moylie] This word occurs in King James' *Essayes of a Prentise* « Lo ! how that lytill God of loue Before me then appeard, So myld-lyke, And chylde-lyke, With bow thre quarters skant, So moylie, And coylie, He lukit lyke a Sant ». Cf. Jamieson, *Dict. s.v.* moy, where the word is explained as « mildly ». Here it seems rather to mean « quietly ».

1355 *rowndeth*] *i.e.* whispereth.

1358 watchward] *r.* watchword.

1375 skelder] *i.e.* cheat.

maggot-mügers] Cf. *N. E. D. s. v.* maggot « 1660 *Bibliotheca Fanatica* 2 Jeremy Ives, the gifted Maggot-Monger ». The word is explained as meaning « crotcheteer ». I have met with no other instances of it.

1376 *pompiōs*] *i.e.* pumpkins; used as a term of abuse in *Merry Wives*, III. iii. 43 and in Fletcher and Massinger's *Custom of the Country*, I. ii. 73.

magatapipicoes] perhaps an extension of « magot-a-pie » or « meggatapie » (*Cotgr. s.v.* pie), forms of « magpie ».

1379] *r.* time; at eleauen this very night

stand *Perdue*] *i.e.* in ambush, with a secondary sense of « engaged in a desperate enterprise ». Cf. *Cent. Dict. s.v.* *Perdue*, and quotation there given « I am set here, like a *perdu*, To watch a fellow that has wrong'd my mistress — A scurvy fellow that must pass this way ». Fletcher's *Little French Lawyer*, II. iii.

1386-7 bousing and towsing] Probably the two verbs, taken together, have little more meaning than the first alone, *i.e.* drinking, « boozing ». The usual sense of « towsing » is « teasing,

worrying ». It perhaps stands here for « tossing off ».

1388 stinckard] *i.e.* coward, but generally used as a term of abuse without much meaning.

Henrico Baglioni] a character of *B.*'s invention : the name is probably from *G.*, who frequently mentions the well-known family of the Baglioni ; *Fen.* calls them « the Baillons », cf. l. 2732.

Alferoes] *i.e.* ensign, standard-bearer, from *O. Sp.* and *Pg.* *alféres*.

1390 Robollia] a kind of wine : mentioned as « Robolonian » in *J. Taylor's Drinke and welcome*, 1637, B4.

1391 *Boccansacchi*] Apparently a fictitious name of *B.*'s invention. One might suggest that it is made up of *bocca*, mouth, and *insacare* to pocket up, stuff ; or it might even be from « *bocca* » « and » « *sacco* », the latter being a familiar term for the belly, the name thus meaning « mouth and belly », no bad one for « a tall trencherman » ; or, again, *sacchi* may have to do with sack, the drink. I have been unable to find any Italian expression which might have suggested it.

1402 consequence] employed apparently in the unusual sense of « circumstances ».

1418 well affected] *i.e.* of a good disposition.

1433 of my life] This is, I suppose, the asseverative phrase. Cf. *Day, Isle of Guls, G.* ; « Of my life we are come to the birth of some notable knauery » (*N. E. D.*) ; of = on.

1448 modell] *i.e.* plan or scheme of the funeral. Cf. « the form and model of our battle » *Richard III*, V. iii. 24, and « the model of a house » 2 *Hen. IV*, I. iii. 58.

1463 *Cau.*] *v. Can.*

1471 masters prize] cf. *Dekker, The Honest Whore* « Nay let me alone to play my masters prize » (*Works*, ed. Pearson, II. 63). There were three « degrees » in fencing, of which the highest was the « master's ». These were competed for at public displays, which were called prizes, and the expression hence came to mean any feat of exceptional cleverness.

1472 crusadoes] Portuguese coins of gold, and later of silver ; the former must be meant here.

1476 *Maluesie*] *i.e.* Malmsey, a Greek wine.

1482 conduct] *v.* conduit [*i.e.* conduit] as in l. 1488.

1483 passado] *i.e.* lunge.

1484 stoccado] *i.e.* thrust.

1486 Bar'd of] *i.e.* prevented from reaching.

1489 falsifie the foine] *i.e.* make a feint, or feigned thrust.

1493 *Il punto verso indrizato* [*i.e.* *indirizzato*] means, apparently, « punto reverso », a kind of back-handed stroke.

1494 ambroccado] This seems to be an error for imbroccado [from Ital. *imbroccata* as if from Spanish], which Florio explains as « a thrust at fence, or a venie giuen ouer the dagger ». Cf. *N. E. D.* s.v. imbrocado and imbroccata.

1495 *r.*, perhaps, « Here I deceiue him, then with this passado », some such expression as « I attack him » being understood after « then ». Or we might read « deceiue them with », but the line would remain imperfectly metrical and « them » is hardly satisfactory, for it should refer to but one stroke, the « ambroccado ».

1496 in the speeding place] *i.e.* in a part that will « speed » him, a vital part. Cf. T. Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West*, Part I, I. iv. *Spencer* : ... Art thou sure Carrol is dead ?

Goodlack : I can believe no less. You hit him in the very speeding place.

1497 *Mandragon*] This occurs as an alternative form of « mandragora », the root (cf. examples in *N. E. D.*), but from the context it should here rather be the name of a giant. I know of none so called, but there was a Moundragon or Moundragon, cf. Nashe, *Haue with you to Saffron-walden*, R1^v « If his Patrons bee such Peter Pingles and Moundragons », the meaning being, apparently, persons of no account, and Lodge, *Wits Miserie* B2^v « Charles the Emperour gave [him] his cloake : his sword was Moundragons, all that hee hath if you beleeeue him, are but gifts in reward of his vertue ». Whether these two quotations refer to the same person I cannot say, nor have I the slightest idea who he was.

It is just possible that *B.* derived the name from Fenton, who mentions « the rocke of *Mondragon* » as a place to which certain Neapolitan prisoners were sent (*Fen.* p. 55). It is on the coast about half way between Gaeta and Naples.

There is also a « Mandricardo » in Boiardo and in Ariosto, but I doubt there being any connection.

It is hardly necessary to observe that, from this point onward, the scene is a sort of parody of magical conjuration. Barnes appears to have simply heaped together all the strange-sounding names he knew or could invent. In a great part of what follows I can see no meaning at all and probably not much was intended, but at the same time I cannot help believing that the names of the imaginary devils must all have represented something to the audience; for without this their introduction would have been too utterly pointless.

1497 *Ascapart*] the giant slain by Bevis of Southampton.

1498 *Pantaconger*] ??

Pantagruell] The character was well known, though the works of Rabelais do not seem to have been much read. One may perhaps guess that Barnes was not familiar with them from the fact that he makes no use of the list of fifty-nine giants who were Pantagruel's progenitors. Some of them have names which might have come in here with excellent effect.

1499 wirh] *r.* with.

1504 ot] *r.* or.

1505 9] The figure is perhaps italic; the difference in most founts is slight.

1506 *Rubosongal*] In spite of considerable search I have failed to find this name elsewhere. In Scot's *Discoverie*, however, is a passage which may perhaps refer to the same devil. He says « *Deumus* as a divell is worshipped among the *Indians* in *Calecute*, who (as they thinke) hath power given him of God to judge the earth, &c: his image is horrible pictured in a most ouglie shape. » p. 522 (ed. of 1866, p. 438). Scot derived his knowledge of *Deumus* from J. Wier who describes him at slightly greater length in the *De Praestigiis Dæmonum*, lib. i, cap. 22. Wier's description is from Ludovico Barthema or Varthema, or, as he calls him, Ludovicus Romanus Patricius. See R. Eden's *History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*, 1577, fol. 387^v, or *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, Hakluyt Soc. 1863, p. 137. He is also described in Münster's *Cosmography*, and the account there given is translated into English in « *A Briefe Collection... of straunge and memorable thinges, gathered out of the Cosmographie of Sebastian Munster*, 1574. His picture was in the king's chapel; it « gapeth with a wyde mouth shewing four teeth. It hath a deformed nose, grim and terrible eyes, a threatning countenance » and « they that loke vpon this horrible monster are sodenlye afaide, it is so lothsome and terrible a thinge to beholde, » fol. 86. Altogether, with the exception of the name, *Deumus* agrees well with *B.'s* « grimme ghost. »

1507 *Bembocamber*] I can find no « king of Calicute » of this name. No name seems to be given to the king in any of the descriptions of *Deumus* referred to above.

1508 centrenell] *i.e.* watch (sentinel).

1509 *Muscopateron*] The name is apparently derived from *musa*, and his being king of flies suggests some connection with Beelzebub, but I can find no other mention of him.

1512-4] I can explain none of these names. Possibly nothing is intended by them at all but, in view of the meaning — of a sort — which can be found in those below, it would, I think, be rash to

affirm this.

- 1515** *Mulli-sacke*] *i.e.*, probably, mulled sack. Baglioni seems here to begin conjuring by the names of a variety of drinks.

Hermocotterock] ??

- 1516** *Petrouidemi*] This is evidently the wine called « Peter-see-me » « [a corruption of Peter (Pedro) Ximenes] one of the richest and most delicate of the Malaga wines. » *Cent. Dict.* Called « Peter Semine » in *Pimlyco, or, Runne Red-Cap*, 1609, C4^v and « Peter-seamian » in J. Taylor's *Drinke and Welcome*, 1637, B4. In *Pasquils Palinodia*, 1619, it stands, for the sake of rime, as « Sec me Peter » (ed. of 1634, C3).

- 1518** *Aligant*] *i.e.* alicant, wine made at Alicante in Spain. It is called here « gyant » as being strong, or rather strengthening. Cf. « fat lecherous Alligant Whose juice repaires what *Backes* doe want. » *Pimlyco*, C4^v, and « *Alligant*... Which marryed men invoke for procreation. » *Pasquils Palinodia*, 1634 (ed. Grosart), C3. *r.* gyant,

- 1519** hollock] a red Spanish wine.

- 1520** *Birrha Martia*] *i.e.* March Beer. « The beere that is vsed at noble mens tables... is commonlie of a yeare old... It is also brued in March and therefore called March beere ». Harrison's *Descr. of Eng.* in Holinshed, 1587, p. 167 b. Beer brewed in March seems to have been considered the best (cf. German Märzen-Biere and Italian Birra di marzo), but possibly the name was extended to mean simply beer of the best quality, cf. « March Beere shalbe more esteemed than small Ale » *A Wonderfull... Prognostication for... 1591*... By Adam Fouleweather, C3^v. In *Pasquils Palinodia*, *u. s.* C2^v it seems to be equivalent to beer in general.

- 1520** *Sydrack*] *i.e.* cider. I have not met with this form of the word elsewhere, the usual spelling being « syder ». Sydracke occurs as a proper name in *The history of kyng Boccus, & Sydracke how he confoundyd his lerned men, and in y^e syght of them dronke stronge venym in the name of the Trinite & dyd him no hurt*, a book which was very popular in the early part of the sixteenth century, but which is hardly likely to have been sufficiently well remembered for the name to have suggested itself to Barnes as one which might stand for cider, though this is not impossible. There is of course no other connection between the « *Sydrack* » here and the philosopher of King Boccus.

- 1521** mathew *Glynne*] *i.e.* metheglin, a kind of mead made in Wales. J. Taylor says of this drink « The common appellation of the first [*i.e.* metheglin] by the name of *Mathew Glinn*, (although it seeme a Nick't name to the world) is generally received by the

History of *Monmoth*, to be the Anthons name of the Mellifluous mixture » &c. *Drinke and Welcome*, 1637, A3 (from Spens. Soc. ed.). Again in *Ale Ale-vated into the Ale-titude*, 1651, A5^v. I do not know what is meant by the « History of Monmoth ». The passage referred to does not appear to be in Geoffrey.

Harrison says that of metheglin « the Welshmen make no lesse accompt (and not without cause if it be well handled) than the Greekes did of their Ambrosia or Nectar » *Descr. of Eng.* in Holinshed 1587, p. 170 b.

1530] *r.* perhaps, « Which day and night », but the sense of the passage is hardly sufficiently clear as a whole to attempt emendation.

1531-7] I can make nothing of this passage. There were two churches of St Pancredge, Pancrace, or Pancras, one in Chepe ward, south of Cheapside, and the other outside the boundaries of the city altogether, being in the district now known as St Pancras. It must, I think, be the latter which is alluded to here. It seems to have been much neglected, Norden says « *Pancras Church* standeth all alone as vtterly forsaken, old and wether-beaten, which for the antiquitie thereof, it is thought not to yeeld to *Paules* in *London* : about this Church haue bin manie buildings, now decaied leauing poore *Pancras* without companie or comfort. » *Speculum Britanniae*, 1593, p. 38. In some MS. additions to this work, quoted in Thornbury and Walford's *Old and New London*, 1892, V. 327, it is stated that the locality is a resort of thieves and one is advised not to walk there too late.

The other church of St Pancras seems also to have been in a somewhat neglected condition, for Stow says of it that it « had of old time many liberal benefactors, but of late such as (not regarding the order taken by her majesty), the least bell in their church being broken, have rather sold the same for half the value than put the parish to charge with new casting » *London*, 1603 (repr. 1842 p. 98). I mention this in view of the fact that *Claribell*, as Professor Bang suggests, *might* have some reference to a bell (*clarus*, shrill + bell), but, generally speaking, in the numerous allusions which we find to Pancredge, the district outside the city is meant.

Collman-hedge is also several times referred to, but I cannot learn where or what it was. It seems evident however that it was near St Pancras. There was a Coleman street ward in the City, north of Chepe ward, and there was, in Aldgate ward, a parish of St Katharine Coleman « which addition of Coleman was taken of a great haw-yard, or garden, of old time called Coleman haw, in

the parish of the Trinity, now called Christ's church, and in the parish of St. Katherine and All Saints called Coleman church » Stow, *London u.s.* p. 56. The latter locality seems at one time to have been in ill repute for the number of dicing houses there but was now « left and forsaken of her gamesters, and therefore turned into a number of great rents, small cottages, for strangers and others » Stow. *u.s.* Probably neither of these have to do with « *Collman-hedge* ».

A somewhat similar allusion to the one in this play is to be found in the *Wonderfull Prognostication* of « Adam Fouleweather » already referred to : « Summer... beginneth when the wether waxeth so hot, that beggers scorne barnes and lie in the field for heate and the wormes of Saint Pancredge Church build their bowers vnder the shadow of Colman hedge » Dr. Unfortunately this does not make the meaning any clearer.

Nashe refers to Pancredge in a manner which seems to indicate that there was something disreputable about the locality. In *Lenten Stufte* he speaks of those who accuse others « little remembring their owne priuy scapes with their landresses, or their night walkes to Pancredge » I3^v, and in *Haue with you to Saffron-walden* of a « dolefull foure nobles Curate, nothing so good as the Confessour of Tyburne or Superintendent of *Pancredge* » B2^v. We find many other similar references in authors of the time.

Gabriel Harvey alludes twice to Colman hedge but there is not much to be gathered from his remarks, he speaks of proceeding « from worse to worse, from the wilding-tree to the withie, from the dogge to the goate, from the catt to the swine, from Primerose hill to Colman hedge », and says « Were I to begin agayne... I would neuer deale with a sprite of Coleman hedge, or a May-Lord of Primerose hill » *Works*, ed. Gröbart, II. 110, 112.

1535 Capitaine] Perhaps intended to be read « Capitaine ».

1539 imboch'd] *i.e.* marked with spots or sores.

1541 carrine] *i.e.* carrion.

1547 masculiue] *r.* masculine.

1555 Bagb.] *r.* Bagl.

malte-men] used for « persons addicted to malt liquor, topers », a sense in which malt-worm seems more common. I believe that the expression here was proverbial but can find no other instances of it. A ballad called *Tis merry when Malt-men meete* is, however, mentioned by S. Rowlands in *Tis Merrie when Gossips meete*, 1602, A3^v.

1558 a knee... wench] « Read « With euery man a can in his hand and on his knee a prettie wench. » » Dyce's MS. note; but the inversion is surely intentional.

- 1559** *Bodigenero*] I cannot explain this word.
- 1560** *moccado*] a kind of imitation velvet. Cf. Nares' *Gloss.*, s.v. *mockado*.
- 1561** *durance*] a kind of stout durable cloth. *stript*] *i.e.* striped.
- 1562** *Perpetuana*] a woollen stuff supposed to wear for a long time. Dekker speaks of « the sober *Perpetuana* suited Puritane. *Works*, ed. Grosart, II. 44.
- 1563** *Cataplasmatick*] I can only suggest that this may mean — acting like some sort of irritant dressing, such as a mustard plaster. But probably the word is used for the sound alone, as many others seem to be.
- 1565** *swerlidildido*] apparently a purely fantastic word. It evidently means — sword.
- 1566** *spirit of the Buttery*] *i.e.* ghost such as a drunken man sees.
- 1569** *Wimble-cock*] I cannot interpret this. *Wimble* = (1) a gimblet, (2) to bore holes, (3) nimble. There is a word « *whimbrel* », or « *wimbrel* » meaning a kind of curlew, but I do not know its history.
- 1571-7]** Another passage of which I can make nothing. The names are evidently intended to resemble those of women, while the mention of a place called « *Turnuliball* », which can hardly be meant for anything but Turnbull street, suggests that they may be the names of keepers of brothels, for which that locality was notorious. On the other hand it seems to me not very probable that the real names of women of this class would be introduced into a play to be acted before the court. Certain « good wenches of Windsor » are indeed introduced by name in Jonson's *Masque of the Metamorphosed Gipsies*, but these were doubtless perfectly worthy townswomen, so the cases are not parallel. « *Marga Marichalus* » is said to have kept an ale-house, so possibly, if we are to suppose them real persons, the others did the like. As to the names themselves I need only say that we seem to have Lucy (? Black or Negress Lucy), Doll, Nan, Winny, and Meg (? Account or o'Court); « *Marichalus* » may represent the common surname « *Marshall* » and « *Ruehomo* » stand for « *Cleveman* » or some such name. At the same time I should be by no means surprised if the true explanation of the passage were totally different.
- Two of these characters are perhaps alluded to in the *Gesta Grayorum* performed before Queen Elizabeth in 1594, but unfortunately this does not help us to make out what they really were. Among the persons who held Signiories, Lordships &c. from the Prince of Purpoole is one « *Lucy Negro*, Abbess *de Clerkenwell* » who « hol-

deth the nunnery of *Clerkenwell*, with the lands and privileges thereunto belonging, of the Prince of *Purpoole*, by night-service *in Cauda*, and to find a choir of nuns, with burning lamps, to chaunt *Placebo* to the Gentlemen of the Prince's Privy Chamber, on the day of his Excellency's coronation » (Nichols, *Progresses of Q. Eliz.*, 1823, vol. iii. p. 270). In a list of « Claimes of Common Persons » in the second part of the *Gesta* there is found the following : « Megg Martiall claimes to hold the free Maner of Pickthatch, as of the forrest of Tinnekolia, rendringe two couples of rich conyes, and one milke white, and one of her seisen » (*u.s.*, p. 326). Pickthatch, a locality in or adjacent to Turnbull street, seems to have been an especial haunt of loose women. See W. J. Pinks' *History of Clerkenwell*, ed. E. J. Wood, p. 696.

1573 fleights] *v.* sleights.

1576 *Turnuliball*] This must, I think, as I have already said, stand for the street variously called Turnmill, Turnball, and Turnbull Street, in Clerkenwell. References to it, always as a resort of whores, are very frequent, cf. « Such dismal drinking, swearing, and whoring, 'T has almost made me mad : We have all lived in a continual Turnball-street. » B. & F., *Scornful Lady*, c. 1609, III. ii. 151-3.

1577 stigmatist] The fact that this first stood as « Plegmatist » and was then altered (cf. text. notes) shows, I think, that the author himself must have corrected this page, and that hence, however extraordinary some of it may seem, it must be considered to represent fairly well what he intended. « Stigmatist » is, I suppose, equivalent to « stigmatic », which usually means a branded criminal, or, occasionally, a deformed person.

1578 th' *Italian Vitraillist*] « One *James Verselyn*, a Stranger, a *Venetian*, about the Year 1580, or perhaps somewhat before, was the first that set up a Glass-house in *London*, for making *Venice Glasses*. » Stow, *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 240. Possibly he is the man referred to here : I cannot learn when he died. Dekker in *Newes from Hell*, 1606, mentions « the Glass-house *Furnace* in *Blacke-friers* » (*Works*, ed. Grosart, II. 97) and again refers to it in *Iests to make you Merie*, 1607, *u.s.* II. 305. In both cases the point of the allusion is the enormous fire which was continually burning, which according to Strype (Stow, *u.s.*) consumed 400,000 billets of wood yearly. There seem to have been glass-makers of some sort in England from 1565 onwards, cf. *Cal. of State Papers* (Domestic).

1580 vitriall dildidoes] Presumably the instruments called by the Greeks *ὀλισβος* are here referred to. The glass-works at Murano

near Venice were famous in the sixteenth century for their manufacture. See, however, *N.E.D. s.v. dildo-glasses*, and quotation there given from Fletcher, *Nice Valour*, III. i, «Whoever lives to see me Dead, gentlemen, shall find me all mummy, Good to fill galipots, and long dildo-glasses.» These were long cylindrical glasses used apparently for the storage and exhibition of drugs etc.

1582 *Lambechia*] Probably Lambeth is meant: apparently «Nan Riuehomo», whatever she may have been, lived on the south bank of the Thames.

1584 *Stilliard*] The place originally granted in 1259 to a company of German merchants for the carrying on of their trade: it was on the north bank of the Thames a short distance above London Bridge. It became later the centre of the foreign trade of the city. There was a tavern there, cf. Webster, ed. Dyce, 1850, p. 217 and J. Taylor's *Travels .. through, and by more then thirty times twelve Signes...* 1636, D6, where «The Stilliard» is mentioned as one of the «four Houses in London that doe sell Rhennish Wine, inhabited onely by *Dutchmen*.» For several other references to it see the note on «the Rhenesh-wine-house ith Stilliard» in *Westward Hoe*, Dekker, *Dram. Works*, ed. Pearson II. 385.

1585 *Heben*] *i.e.* ebony.

1590 *siringues*] I cannot trace the word elsewhere, but perhaps it means «fistula» from Gk. σῦριγξ, cf. mod. med. «syringotomy»: or it may be, as Prof. Bang suggests, from Fr. *siringue*, a syringe, «clyster pipe» (cf. l. 1339); cf. the «posterior parts» two lines above.

1592] *γ. And.*

Iannes De fisticankers] I have no idea what this means. The last word may perhaps be made up of fistula and canker, but this leaves the sense as obscure as ever.

1593 *Don Vigo*] Perhaps *B.* is referring to the celebrated surgeon, Jean de Vigo (fl. 1503). Several translations of his works into English were published from 1540 onwards.

1604 *signe oth frying-panne*] cf. ll. 1340-1.

1607 *Rillibilbibo*] Apparently a purely fantastic word.

1612 *appoynted.*] *γ.* *appoynted*: or, *appointed*,

1619 *Sistoes*] The Sixtine chapel at the Vatican, built by Sixtus IV., is probably meant.

1621 *La Bella formiana*] I cannot say where *B.* found the name.

1646] *γ.* *disposed*.

1647 *instantly*] *i.e.* just now.

1656-7] Caesar caused his brother, the Duke of Candy, «to be kil-

led one night as he rode alone in the streetes of *Rome*, casting his bodie secretly in the riuer of *Tyber*. » *Fen.* p. 138.

1663 streth] *r.* stretch.

feare] *r.*, perhaps, for feare.

1664 not] The negative is not unusual in such cases.

arches] It is not clear what is meant by this.

1667 prenitious] a variant form of « pernitious », or possibly a misprint.

1674 Ware] *r.* Water.

1676 guarded] *i.e.* adorned.

1678-80] Saturn was generally regarded as an evil planet. Possibly *B.* took the idea from what is said of the spirits of Saturday in the *Heptameron* : « Eorū natura est, seminare discordias, odia, & malas cogitationes, plumbum ad libitum dare, quemlibet interficere, & quodlibet membrum mutilare », p. 583.

1688-90] The Pope at first « had the Cardinall *Askanius* and the *Vrsins* in strong suspition » of having caused the death of his son. *Fen.* p. 139.

1694] Caesar's motto « Aut Caesar aut nullus » seems to have been well known, but I do not find it in *G.* It is however given by Widman (see p. xxi), from whom Barnes perhaps took it.

1704 a *Magicall glasse*] *i.e.* a crystal or mirror of some sort for crystal-gazing.

1706] *r.* Fore god.

1709] *r.* inuisible.

1714] *r.* perceiue.

1715] escention] I suppose that « ascention » is meant. The word seems to have been imperfectly corrected from the original « decention », cf. text-notes.

Arctophilax] *i.e.* the constellation commonly called Boötes.

1720-1817] All the demonology of this scene is from the *Heptameron* of Petrus de Abano. The work is referred to by the pages of the edition mentioned in the Introduction, p. xi.

1720 *Armatas*] the astrological name of the moon in summer, *Hept.* p. 559.

combust] when the moon or a star appears at a short distance from the sun, so that its apparent brightness is diminished, it is said to be « combust ». For the whole line cf. *Hept.* p. 561, De modo operationis. — « Sit luna crescens & par, si fieri potest, & non sit combusta ». Read « increaseth, she is ».

1722 *Casmaran*] the name of summer, *Hept.* p. 558.

1723 *Salam*] the 12th hour of the night, *Hept.* p. 558.

1725] Gargatel, Tariel, Gaiuel are given as « Angeli ætatis » in *Hept.*

p. 558.

1727 *Athaman*] I presume that this should be *Athenay*, the name of the sun in summer, *Hept.* p. 559. The meaning is that the sun is now rising on the opposite side of the world.

1729 *Aetalon*] evidently a misprint for *Natalon*, the 12th hour of the day, *Hept.* p. 558.

1730] For the ceremony, and again at l. 1747, compare *Hept.*, De modo operationis : « habeat item aquam benedictam à sacerdote, uas fictile nouum igne plenum, uestem & pentaculum... » p. 561, and « Vnus è discipulis ferat uas terrenum igne plenum, & famigationes... Et cum peruenerit ad locū ubi uult facere circulum, protrahat circuli lineas, ut suprā docuimus. » p. 562.

1731] *r.* burnt? Bring

1732 sense] *i.e.* cense.

1733 *Festatiui*] given as *Festatui*, « nomen terræ, astate », *Hept.* p. 558, but in the translation by R. Turner, 1655, and also in the French and German translations it appears as « *Festativi* ». Cf. Introduction.

1739 *ayne*] the first hour of the day, *Hept.* p. 557.

1740-60] All from *Hept.* p. 569-70, which has :

« Angeli diei Dominicæ. Michael, Dardiel, Huratipel.

Angeli (*sic*) aeris regnantes die Dominico. Varcā rex.

Ministri eius. Tus, Andas, Cynabal. »

Next follow the angels of the various quarters, there being several of each. Among them are Vionatraba (East), Succratos (West), Aniel, uel Aquiel (North), Machasiel (South).

Then « Fumigium diei Dominicæ. Sandalum rubeum. »

1742 *hebeny*] *i.e.* ebony.

1744 *Cynaball.*] The stop is doubtful.

1749 like a collyers horse] Evidently a current expression, but I know no other example of it.

1756 *without the circle*] Cf. note on ll. 37-8.

1761-3] Cf. *Hept.* Coniuratio diei Dominicæ, p. 570, « Coniuro & confirmo super uos angeli fortes Dei, & sancti, in nomine Adonay, Eye, Eye, Eya... » and Coniuratio diei Martis, p. 575. « Coniuro & confirmo super uos, angeli fortes & sancti, per nomen Ya, Ya, Ya, He, He, He, Va, Hy, Hy, Ha, Ha, Va, Va, Va, An, An, An, Aie... »

1762] *r.* *per nomen*.

1764-6] This description may have been partly suggested by a passage in the *Spirius Liber de Cerimonijs Martis, qui Gouernus Agrippa habetur*, sometimes printed with the *Heptameron* (cf. Introduction), where, under the heading « Formæ familiares spiritibus Solis »,

- we find « Apparent ut plurimum amplo & magno corpore, sanguineo & crasso, aureo colore super tincto sanguine... Formæ autem particulares sunt : Rex habens screptum (*sic*), leonem equitans ... » p. 532. The thunder is mentioned as belonging more particularly to Jupiter and Mars, and the dragon to Saturn.
- 1777** assassinates.] The stop may be (,) but is probably a black-letter period.
- 1780-1**] « et per nomē magnū ipsius Dei fortis... qui creauit mundum, cælum, terram, mare, & omnia quæ in eis sunt in primo die, & sigillauit ea sancto nomine suo Phaa. » *Hept. Conj. diei Dominicæ*, p. 570.
- 1785**] *Candy*.] The stop is doubtful, perhaps a black-letter period.
- 1789**] *r. lightning*.
- 1795** vnquoth] *i.e.* uncouth.
- 1797-8**] For these names cf. the end of the « Exorcismus spirituum aereorum » in *Hept.* p. 564. « Venite ergo in nomine... Amiora :... festinate, imperat uobis Adonay Saday, Rex regum, El, Aty, Titeip, Azia... », and read accordingly « *Titep* and *Sadai* » in l. 1798.
- 1809**] *r. Viselli* was
- 1815** descend] probably an error ; it may be part of the next speech, or, as Dyce noted in his copy, a stage direction, or possibly we should read « shall I descend ? » as in l. 1807.
- 1816**] cf. « Beralanensis, Baldachiensis, Paumachiæ & Apologiæ sedes... in the « Oratio ad Deum », *Hept.* p. 565. The name « Heliores » occurs later in the same prayer, p. 566.
- 1818**] *r.*, rather, *descendeth*.
- 1819**] *r. Alexander*.
- 1825**] cf. text. notes. Perhaps it was intended to read « Both of » but a wrong correction was made.
- 1832** *Dominico Giglio*] I can find no person of the name in *G.*
- 1833-4** *Lodwick Sforzaes* name her lustfull Paramoure] I find no suggestion of this in *G.*
- 1850** Bentiuoli] The name is perhaps from *Fen.*, who mentions « *Anniball Bentiuole* [*G. Bentiuoglio*], sonne of *Iohn*, mercenary to the *Florentins* ». *Fen.* p. 30.
- 1851**] After this line Alexander is supposed to re-enter from his study.
- 1861-3**] Caesar resigned his cardinalship and became a soldier and Duke of Valentinoys. *Fen.* p. 157.
- 1893**] *r. diuills* ; you... them
- 1899** knowst.] The stop is doubtful.
- 1924**] *r. enlarg'd*... set. In the latter word the f is so damaged as to

resemble s, or the letter may possibly be really s.

- 1933** six] *G.* does not seem to mention any particular number.
- 1939**] Concerning the death of Gemyn *G.* says, « And there were that beleueed (for the corrupt nature of the Pope made credible in him all wickednesse) that *Baiazet*... practised with him by the meane of *George Bucciardin* [*G. Giorgio Bucciardo*] corrupted with money, to oppresse the life of *Gemyn*. » *Fen.* p. 66.
- 1946-7**] There is no suggestion in *G.* that Alexander ever attempted to murder his daughter.
- 1949** noble Earle] *i.e.* Giovanni Sforza, cf. l. 283.
- 1952** passe] *i.e.* pass over, omit.
- 1957** spiracle] properly breathing hole, which seems to be without meaning here. Can it mean « little spire », or « schoot »? Cf. l. 211.
- 1977**] *r. Imola, Furlì.*
- 1980** *Cæsar o nullo*] Cf. note on l. 1694.
guydon] *i.e.* flag or pennant.
- 1988**] *r. They.*
- 1995, 2000**] *r. Cæs.*
- 2004** &c.] The whole episode of Lucretia's death is the invention of Barnes. In reality she did not die until 1519, whereas the death of Alexander took place in 1503.
- 2008** *Tinsilry*] a kind of cloth with metallic threads interwoven in it.
- 2011**] « It » in the form of « 'T » is probably intended to be supplied before « could ». It would necessarily be inaudible.
- 2019** blanching water] *i.e.* water for rendering the complexion white. A very large number of recipes for this are given in *G. Marinello's* work, *Gli Ornamenti delle donne*, Venice, 1562, ff. 205-225 « Il viso, il collo... con quali modi diuengano piu bianche, che alabastro ».
- 2021** riueling] *i.e.* wrinkling.
- 2022** wimple] *i.e.* cover.
- 2025** *Marques Mantoua*] There seems to be some confusion here. The Marquis of Mantua was Francesco da Gonzaga, who, according to Barnes, was himself at one time Lucretia's husband, cf. l. 273.
- 2028**] *r. fantasie.*
- 2035** *Spanish dye*] In reality her hair was yellow.
- 2036-40**] I am not aware of any authority for this story nor for that of the admiration of the Prince of Salerne in l. 2044.
- 2052** *Gonzaga*] Cf. note on l. 2025.
- 2056** supplies] The meaning is not clear: possibly *B.* may be using the word in the sense of « supplications »; or « replies » may be meant.

- 2058-9]** *r.* necke, two... nipples... suckt.
- 2059]** « Read « solacions » or « solaces » » Dyce, MS. notes, but should it not rather be « solucions » or « solutions » ?
- 2063** oyle of *Talck*] a nostrum formerly famous as a cosmetic. See Nares' *Gloss*.
- 2064** sarsnet] a fine silk fabric.
- 2066** delay] *i.e.* weaken or thin by adding water. Read « colour. Is » ; or else taking « delay » in the usual sense, read « delay : this ». The former seems decidedly the preferable reading.
- 2072** I] possibly l.
 arches] *i.e.* eyebrows.
 mullet] *i.e.* curling-tongs.
- 2083** poyson,] *r.* poyson
- 2086]** *r.*, perhaps, strange ; but cf. « chang » in l. 2561.
- 2115]** *r.* me ? I will
- 2122** *Luc.*] The stop is faint in all copies.
- 2124** catiue] *i.e.* wretched.
- 2125]** *r.* of hir.
- 2134]** *r.* *Abraham* : the *h* is damaged so as to resemble *b*.
- 2135** passe] *i.e.* have passage.
- 2142]** *r.*, rather, *Galen*.
- 2145]** *r.* accident.
- 2145]** *r.* body. I
- 2169** *Sforzaes*... sister and... *Riarioes* widdow] Her name is frequently given as Katharine Sforce by *Fen.*, and *Ieronimo de Riare* is mentioned at p. 29 and elsewhere.
- 2171** purchase] *i.e.* win anything from, get the better of.
- 2173]** *r.* her.
- 2173-4]** Cf. note on l. 2193 &c.
- 2175]** *r.* What ? shall
- 2180]** There seems to be no mention of the twenty Ensignes in *G*.
- 2193** Iulio Sforza] not mentioned by *G*. in connexion with the siege, but his name occurs on the same page as the account of it (*Fen.* p. 182).
- 2193** &c.] *G*. devotes only some twenty lines to the siege. He mentions Katherine's sending her children and money to Florence, but says nothing of their capture by Caesar. She abandoned the town and only attempted to defend the « Citadeli and Rocke ». *G*. praises Katherine's bravery and describes Caesar's attempt to persuade her to yield without fighting, and, on her refusal, his battery of the wall « with a great furie of artillerie », which opened a breach. *Fen.* p. 182.
- 2194]** *r.*, perhaps, *Ensignes*. See l. 2180 and cf. l. 2418.

2195] *r.* What? haue

2205] *r.* stoanes, or

2206 honor] *i.e.* seigniory or lordship.

2214-6] Barnes apparently took this from a passage inserted by Fenton in his translation of *G.* « The Cardinall [of Amboise] in this aspiring desire [*i.e.* in wishing to be sent as Papal Legate to France], had litle remembrance to the counsell of *S. Gregory*, that he that seeketh authoritie, let him consider how he commeth to it, and comming well to it, how he ought to liue well in it, and liuing well in it, how he must gouerne, and gouerning wisely, he must oft call to memory his owne infirmitie. Ambition is a humour verie vnmeet for Churchmen... » (*Fen.* p. 191). This passage is not in either the Italian or the French version. It is from *S. Gregory's Regula Pastoralis*, Part I, introductory chapter (Migne, *Patr. Curs. S. Gregorius Magnus*, Vol. III, col. 12).

2217] *i.e.* Alexander did a dangerous thing in placing you, who are so ambitious, in command of his army.

2226] *r.* What? are

2241-4] *r.* forte,... vp :... made... perfedy.

2249 Fatherlesse] *r.* Fatherlesse.

2260 advantages] The word seems here to be used in the sense of « rank » or « estates ».

2270] *r.* them ; they... chuse

2283 woul'st] There is only a faint trace of the (').

2290 you] *r.* your, or, perhaps, to.

2291] *r.* feeble,

2308] *r.* is to die

2314 said] *i.e.* called, known as.

2327 honor] *r.* honor.

2344 *Posthumus*] *B.* seems to look upon this as a name given to children cut out of the womb, but see Pliny *H.N.* vii. 7. It was properly applied to those born after the father's death. Steevens (*Variorum Shakspeare*, 1803 and 1821) cites this passage in a note on « Lucina lent not me her aid,

But took me in my throes ;

That from me was Posthūmus ript,

Came crying 'mongst his foes,

A thing of pity! » (*Cymbeline*, V. iv.)

2354 *Thamyris*] *i.e.* Tomyris.

2359] *r.* charge ; let

2373] It seems as if a line were wanting after this one. We should have expected « first by insidious means captured, have been bereaved of their lives » or something to that effect. As it stands

the sentence is grammatically imperfect.

2375 date] *i.e.* limit. I have come to the end of all possible calamities.

2385 &c.] I cannot suggest any reason for the introduction of this incident, of which there is no hint in *G.*, and in which the character of Caesar is curiously at variance with that which he exhibits in the rest of the play. Indeed the whole scene is somewhat of an excrescence upon the plot.

2385] Dyce, in his *Few Notes on Shakespeare*, compares this stage-direction with that in *The Tempest*, V. i., where, when Alonso believes his son Ferdinand to be dead, « The cell opens, and discovers Ferdinand and Miranda playing at chess. »
discovereth] *i.e.* opens.

2392 liuely-hoods] *i.e.* inheritance, patrimony.

2393] *r.* honour,

2394 sau'd] The (') is faint.

2411 charge,] The comma is very faint.

2412 Enter] *r.* Exit.

2425 Rotsi] I do not find this character in *G.*, nor does there seem to have been a real physician of the name.

2440] *r.* Alex.

2443 fyer'd] *r.*, probably, syer'd. Cf. text. notes and l. 336.

2452 take paines] Is not some technical term of the game meant by this? The ordinary sense of the phrase seems inapplicable, and Astor's reply suggests some play upon words.

2454] *r.* there : if

2469] *r.* Phi.

2470] *r.* we shall.

2473 Lets] The space is perhaps enough for ('), but none is visible,

2486-7] It is perhaps worth while to suggest that this and the general circumstances of Astor and his brother's death *may* have been due to *B.*'s recollection of the passage in *G.* describing that of Charles VIII. He was, however, watching, not playing, tennis. Cf. note on l. 1146-7.

2491] *r.* a sleepe. Musicke, depart,

2496] *r.* knocketh.

2503] *r.* Bernardo.

2511 signet of black horne] This is not, I believe, classical.

2513] *r.*, perhaps, Sleepe on vntill.

2517] « Read « for such I consider it » ». Dyce, MS. note.

Rather, perhaps, « for I so consider it ».

2524 comfort] *r.*, perhaps, consort, *i.e.* concert.

2547 birds] The word was used as a term of endearment and is, I

suppose, so employed here. Again in l. 2564.

2554 Ensigning] *i.e.* guiding to, teaching.

2556 *Cleopatra*] It is perhaps worth while to remind the reader that *Anthony and Cleopatra* was produced about this time, probably before this play was printed, if not before it was first acted. It is not however necessary to suppose that there is any allusion to it here.

2561] *r.* change, but cf. strang in l, 2086.
heavy.] *r.* heauy

2582 so] We should rather expect « to », *i.e.* too.

2598] *r.* warlike.

2599 he tooke in *Capua*] From *G.*, cf. *Fen.* p. 199.

2601-3] « For, in the verie time that the Duke *Valentinois* communed of accord with *Iules de Varana* [*G.* Giulio da Varano], Lord of *Camerin* [*G.* Camerino], hee surprised the Citie by suttile meanes, and hauing *Iules* in his power with two of his sonnes, he caused them to be strangled with the same inhumanitie which he vsed against others » (*Fen.* p. 208).

2605-8] Cf. *Fen.* p. 216, and, for the taking of Urbino, p. 207.

2613 Endes in the subiect] *i.e.* (?) brings the subject to an end.

2624 could] *i.e.* cold.

2635 officers.] *r.* officers

2670 lance-prizado] *i.e.* lance-corporal (*N.E.D.*). Cf. « *Lancepizzades* (these are braue and proued souldiers intertaind aboue the ordinary compaines (*sic*)) » (*Fen.* p. 80). *G.* has « *lancie spezzate* ».

2671 pardon'd thee thy life] *i.e.* remitted the death penalty. Cf. examples in *N.E.D.*

2675 mammockes] *i.e.* pieces.

2676 honour] *i.e.* trust, belief.

2679 fix] *i.e.* (?) sound. Cf. l. 1319.

2682 slauish] I am uncertain as to the meaning of this. From the context one might suppose it to mean Russian, but I can find no mention of Russian daggers. Those most esteemed were Spanish and Scottish (cf. Stafford, *Examination of Complaints*, V.S.S. p. 51, l. 13, and the quotation from Becon in Stubbes' *Anatomy*, V.S.S. p. 250). It is, of course, not impossible that the word may be a misprint for « *Spanish* ».

powder of *Rhemes*] Most of the gunpowder used in England seems to have been imported from the continent, but not, as far as I can learn, especially from Rheims.

2685] *r.* Next to the *Vatican*,

2688 Few words] the common « *peccas falsitas* », meaning « enough said ».

- attach] *i.e.* arrest.
- 2695** true] The t is hardly legible.
- 2698** pannado] « A Panado; crummes of bread (and currans) moistened, or brewed with water ». Cotgrave, *s. v.* Panade. A kind of bread pudding.
- 2702** *Rosa-solis*] *i.e.* « a cordial made with spirits and various flavourings, as orange-water and cinnamon », *Cent. Dict.* In this case it must have contained poison.
- 2703** micher] *i.e.* mean thief.
 ile pay him his olde fippence for't] I can find no other instance of this phrase ; it evidently means « pay him out for it ».
- 2714** light] *i.e.* burning. Cf. examples in *N.E.D. s.v.* Light, *þpl. a.*
- 2715** take a murren with thee] *i.e.* « plague take thee ». The words are, of course, an aside, as also ll. 2716-22.
catch-word Thns] *r.* Thus.
- 2718** in others purposes] *i.e.* (?) in the plots of others.
- 2722** in sequell] *i.e.* afterwards.
- 2725** Casseir] *i.e.* cashier, dismiss.
 whip-stock] a vague term of abuse, a tall, lanky person.
- 2728** crosse] He refers to the cross on the reverse of a coin.
- 2732** *Ballion*] the form of the name is probably from *Fen.*, cf. note on l. 1388.
- 2734** squirt-vp] *i.e.* upstart, conceited person.
- 2737** duck egge] playing upon « ducat ». I am under the impression that the use of the phrase for a cipher (o) was common, as it is, of course, at present, but *N.E.D.* has no instance earlier than 1863.
- 2746** mouth... be made vp] a common phrase for « satisfy ».
- 2749**] *r.* thereof,
- 2759**] *r.* *Brandino*. Cf. l. 2663.
- 2771** giue allay] *i.e.* dilute.
- 2781** *Pincoginger*] I can offer no explanation of this name. The latter part of the word may stand for « o' ginger » but I find no meaning of « pink » which is applicable here.
- 2781-2**] *r.* honour : ... peece,
- 2784** stingo] *i.e.* strong beer.
- 2785** *Boccadillio*] perhaps a fantastic formation from *bocca*, mouth. It seems to mean « bottle-companion ».
- Weare] *r.* were.
- 2787**] *r.* *Hectorean Greeke*.
- 2789**] *r.* boore, or boare,
- 2790** *Boracchio*] *i.e.* drunkard, wine-bag. See *N.E.D.*
- 2794** imboist] The usual meaning is « foaming at the mouth with

exhaustion, like a hunted animal ».

2795] *r.* force.

2797] *r.* slaues.

paphlagonian] *i.e.* (?) stupid, worthless. Cf. « *Chutes Shores Wife*, and his *Procris* and *Cephalus*, and a number of *Paphlagonian* things more » Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* (12¹), where the same word seems to be intended. The inhabitants of Paphlagonia were considered in classical times as a rude and stupid people, but there may be some other point in the allusion.

2798 though,] *r.* though

2799 be,] *r.* be

2806 pepered] To « pepper » was commonly used for to annoy, vex, and, by extension, to injure, to « do for ». Possibly it had the special sense of to poison, cf.

« she hath pepper'd me, I feel it work —
My teeth are loosen'd, and my belly swell'd ;
My entrails burn with such distemper'd heat,
That well I know my dame hath poison'd me ».

(*Grim the Collier of Croydon*, V. i. Hazl. Dods. VIII. 463.)

2809 broken vp] *i.e.* opened. Cf. l. 2870.

2811] *r.* such.

2813] *r.* Bag.

nipster] *i.e.* toper.
r. drincketh.

2816 respect] *i.e.* notice.

2824] *r.* deliuer.

2833] *r.* Rotsi.

2837 replyall] *i.e.* reply.

2838 compictious] I cannot suggest any meaning for this word. It might possibly be an error for « compunctions », which, however, would hardly give good sense here — not that that matters much.

2839 confectionary] The word « confection » was used for any medical preparation and more particularly for a poison. Cf. *N. F. D.* you] *r.* your.

2840 Ratsbanatum] a mock-Latin form of ratsbane, *i.e.* rat poison.

2842] *r.* did you ? goe too,
currigantino] ??

2857 *Shur cordillio*] ??
r. Frescobaldi.

2858] *r.* death : oh (cf. text. notes)

2870 fill... out] *i.e.* pour out.

2871 *Cornetto* and *Modina*] see note on l. 2949.

2879 entertaïne] *i.e.* waste, spend.

2897] *r. Alex.*

sworne-men] The temporal servants of the Papacy seem to be meant. The similarity of the word « swordmen » in the next line might cause one to suspect an error.

2902 right.] *r. right*

2908] *r. warres,*

2916-7] I can find no suggestion of the devil's part in the matter in any other account. The change of the bottles is invariably attributed to a mistake of a servant.

2917 hower.] *r. hower*

2920 burganet] *i.e. helmet.*

2923] *r. excellence.*

2924] *r. would haue had.*

2928 *in diebus illis*] The very common use of this phrase for « once upon a time » comes, I suppose, from Genesis 6. 4, « Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis ».

transeant cum ceteris erroribus] This is a well-known quotation but I cannot place it.

2931] In copy **D** the « wil » is crossed through and inserted in MS. after « which ». This is no doubt the correct reading.

2932] In copy **D** a comma is inserted in MS. after « warrant it », and similarly in the next line after « now ».

2934 thats flat] The earliest instance of the use of the phrase seems to be in *L.L.L.* III. i. 102. (*N.E.D.*)

2935] *r. excellent.*

2939 drinke a Ioy] I can find no other instance of this phrase, but cf. « 1656 Finett *For. Ambass.* 11 In conclusion, a joy pronounced by the King and Queen, and seconded with congratulation of the Lords there present. (*N.E.D. s.v. Joy, sb. 1 e*), also « to wish one joy », but in this phrase the word never has the article.

2949] *G.* says that it was believed that Alexander died of poison, there being a report that Caesar had intended to poison *Adrian*, Cardinal of *Cornette* [*G. Corneto*], but through the mistake of a servant the prepared wine was served to Alexander and his son (*Fen.* p. 236). The cardinals of « *Capua* » and « *Modeno* » [*G. Modena*] are mentioned in the same passage.

2951 it is all of] *i.e.* I have drunk it all.
of = off.

2962] *r. Modina*

2970 *Vesenus*] *i.e.* (?) a variant form of « *Vesuvius* », or a mistake. I have not met with it elsewhere.

2976 *Mongibell*] *i.e.* Mt. Etna. « *Mongibell*, which in times past was held to be the Forge and furnace of Vulcan, and of late hath bin

callet *Ætna* » (P. Le Loyer *Treatise of Spectres*, transl. by Z. Jones, 1605, fo. 41^v).

2987 *Belchar*] a devil of the name of Belcher appears in Marlowe's *Faustus* sc. iv. I have not found him mentioned elsewhere.

2988 *Varca*] Cf. l. 1743.

2993] *r.* darknesse.

2997 necessity,] *r.* necessity

3016 *vnbraced*] *i.e.* with his clothes loosened.

3024] I have not found the source of this quotation.

3026] an allusion to a current saying, of which the point is not quite clear. Cf. *Mer. Wives*. III. iv. 100.

3058 *preuaricate*] *i.e.* swerve, go astray.

3059] *r.* of lasting.

3067 manner of death] « Read « manner of my death » » Dyce, MS. note, also Prof. Herford, *Lit. Relations*, p. 201, n. 2. Cf. l. 3223.

3073] *r.* hypocrisy :

3074-5] « Sotadic » or palindromic verses which read the same from either end. It is said that St Martin was once travelling to Rome on foot when he met the devil, who jeered at him for having no better means of conveyance. The saint thereupon turned him into a mule and, mounting him, continued his journey on his back, urging him on by making the sign of the cross. These verses were uttered by the devil in annoyance at the treatment which he received. See Wilkes' *Encyclopædia Londinensis*, 1815, vol. XIII, p. 425. I have been unable to discover the source of the story. The pentameter is given alone by Sidonius Apollinarius (*Migne, Patr. Curs.* vol. LVIII, col. 634).

3091] *r.* *Lucifer*, Traitor to

3101 counterpart] *i.e.* duplicate of the agreement; strictly, one half of an indenture.

3102 eight] *r.*, probably, eighteen.

3110] *r.*, probably, eighteen? This... The whole passage is, perhaps intentionally, somewhat confusing. As Prof. Herford says « the pope construes : « annos xi. et vii., et dies viii. ; post moriere : the devil audaciously explains : « annos xi., et dies vii. ; octavo (die) post moriere ». (*Lit. Relations*, p. 198).

3134 *exuperant*] *i.e.* (?) mighty, omnipotent. Cf. (1007) Payson, *Italy Road* (Grosart 1876) Ah, might it please thy dread exuperance To write th'excript thereof in humble hearts. (*N.E.D.*)

3143 *conuersation*... *symbolisation*. These words are evidently used in some technical or theological sense, but the meanings of both are so numerous and so vague that I cannot determine what is their precise significance here. (Cf. Du Cange.) I doubt if Barne-

meant much by this passage.

3145 quadrifarie] *i.e.* fourfold.

3146 vertue vegetatiue] *i.e.* (?) unconscious development.

3150 *Eloym*] *i.e.* God, a plural used for singular.

3150-2] This passage is somewhat obscure. If by « that great continent » is meant « the sum of all things, the universe », and if the subject of « is » in l. 3151 is « man » in l. 3142, the sense may be as follows : man, who participates with matter, plants, beasts, and angels in various qualities, and with God in the universe (or, perhaps, in the sum of all these qualities), must certainly be preserved by God who also contains all these qualities in himself.

3160-2] *r.* can : ... time,

3171 habitacle] *i.e.* habitation.

3176 simbolize] *i.e.* agree, harmonize.

3188] *r.*, perhaps, *wringing them*

3192] *r.* traytor to

3199] *r.* sinfull.

3201-4] based more or less on Psalm 22. 20, 21. The word « darling » shows use of the Bishops' version, that of Geneva having « my desolate soul ».

3234] *r.* poysoned,

3239] *r.* wretched.

3240] *r.* sinfull.

3248 *like a Poast*] « in gestaltdt eines Postens », Widman (see p. xxii, l. 9 from foot).

3249 1. *Diu.*] The first stop is very faint.

3258 horizons] *i.e.* astrological devices, magic.

3263] *r.*, rather, conscience.

3268] *r.* *windeth*.

3284] *r.* Outcries.

3291] « Read « churches throng &c » » Dyce, MS. note.

3308 *Flagicious*] *i.e.* infamous.

3310-4] Cf. *Fen.* p. 244, and, for Caesars death, p. 279 : « Duke *Valentinois*... fled into the kingdome of *Nauarre* to king *Iohn* brother to his wife, where... he was at last slaine by the conspiracie of an ambush... at *Viano*, a litle place in the said realme ».

3316-21] This passage seems hardly intelligible and the much greater clearness and metrical regularity of the last eight lines of the epilogue perhaps allow us to suppose that something has gone wrong here. But the whole play abounds in evidences of careless workmanship.

INDEX.

The Diuils Charter having been made little use of by lexicographers and editors, I have thought it well to include in this index a certain number of words, phrases, peculiar spellings etc. which, though not without interest, did not seem sufficiently uncommon or remarkable to need explanation or comment in the notes. References to these are distinguished by the line-number being in ordinary type while those on which there is a note are in heavy type.

Square brackets have been used to enclose entries of what appear to be misprints, round brackets to mark off a few subject-entries and to enclose references to words which differ in tense, number, or spelling from the index-words.

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ERRATA.

TEXT.

450 *For you read your*

980 *The number should be one line lower.*

1196 *Read Phillippo, was*

1298 *catch-word Fre. The stop (.) has dropped out in some copies.*

1386 *For bow- read bow-*

1496 *For in read in*

1502 *For wirh read with (not in l. 1499)*

2245 *For Cæsar read Cæsar*

2350 *For Orphanes read Orphanes*

3014 *The catch-word CEN. should be in the same type as « PROLOGVS » in l. 2.*

NOTES.

1797 *In the second line, for Amiora read Amiorā*

1957 *For schoot read shoot*

2703 *I have since met with the expression Ile giue him his olde fippens in Misogonus (ed. Brandl), II. i. 12.*

It should have been stated somewhere that the notes do not profess to correct all or nearly all the errors in the text ; incorrect punctuation especially has only been noticed when it seemed likely to lead to confusion.

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